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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

ANCIENT NATIONS OF AFRICA.

VOL. I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION. CARTHAGINIANS.
ETHIOPIAN NATIONS.

Talboys and Browne, Printers, Oxford.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE

OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS, ETHIOPIANS, AND EGYPTIANS.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN,

KNIGHT OF THE NORTH STAR AND GUELPHIC ORDER, AULIC COUNSELLOR AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL OTHER LEARNED SOCIETIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

VOL. I.



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[1] This Appendix (never before published) was not received from Professor Heeren till this volume was finished.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Of the excellence of the work now presented to the English reader little needs be said in this preface. The name of its author has long been most honourably connected with the literature of Germany and of Europe. His works have been pillaged to furnish matter for almost every respectable literary periodical of the age. This portion of them, in particular, has been described by a writer in one of the leading critical journals of this country, as, "a work of the very highest rank among those with which modern Germany has enriched the literature of Europe[a]." The same writer adds: "This author unites the laborious erudition of his countrymen, with that animating spirit of real genius, which disposes into harmonious order, and quickens into life that which, in meaner hands, lies in dull and heavy masses of unintelligible or at least unattractive learning." In these sentiments the translator of the following pages fully concurs. So long indeed as the sage institutions of ancient nations shall find admirers; so long as the investigation of their policy, commerce, colonies, and legislation shall be considered as the proper training for eminence in our own courts of law and legislative assemblies; so long indeed as that sacred book, the Bible, shall be

[a] The Quarterly Review, No. LXXXV.

regarded as the foundation of our civility, our morals, and our hope; so long must the work now presented to the English reader be known and appreciated.

In the review which the author takes of the Carthaginian state, we see a remarkable instance of the power, the opulence, the grandeur, and the political importance to which a nation may rise by commerce and navigation alone; and England, which in so many striking particulars resembles Carthage, may read an instructive lesson in her decline and fall, occasioned as it was by the corruption of her government, the factious spirit of her aristocracy, the failure of her navy, and the degeneracy of her citizens.

In the profound disquisition on the Ethiopians we see the whole framework of the powerful government of the Pharaohs, in connection with the theocracy and its agents the priest caste, traced up to its primary elements. Here again we see, in its monuments and temples, the archetypes of the stately edifices and the religion of Egypt. Here too are traced along the two banks of the Nile, from Memphis to Meroë, city after city—the temples of gigantic magnitude,—the grottoes or sepulchres hewn out of the solid rock, with colossal statues as their guardians:—all these are so exhibited before us—in such order and connection—as to prove that civilization descended with the Nile from the south; and that the same religion, the same arts, the same institutions, manners, and civility, prevailed from almost the sources of that river till its junction with the Mediterranean. The learned author portrays commerce as the parent of such civilization, religion as its nurse, and the distant regions of the south as its cradle. He compares Herodotus with the Sacred Writings, and describes "Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, whose inhabitants are the tallest, most beautiful, and long-lived of the human race[b]," as "the Sabeans, the men of

[b] Herodotus, iii, 114.

stature," of one prophet[c], and as "the mighty men—the Ethiopians that handle the shield, of another[d]; and in other instances throws a considerable light on the sacred text.

In the researches on the primeval and mysterious Egypt is laid before us a concise but clear sketch of the first attempts at writing, together with the discoveries of Young and Champollion in deciphering hieroglyphics—the land and its inhabitants—their divisions—their occupations—their literature—their religion, their laws and polity:—and, finally, the wonders of that land of marvels—its pyramids, its majestic and solemn temples—the stupendous colossi and monuments of the hundred-gated Thebes, are exhibited before us.

Considering the very interesting nature of these subjects, and the ability and learning displayed by Professor Heeren in their investigation and illustration, it is truly a matter of surprise that such a work has not before been made accessible to the English reader.

No one wishes more sincerely than he who has made this attempt, that it had been done by some one better qualified for the office. The translation was begun merely as a literary exercise, without any view to publication; and was continued solely from the interesting nature of the work, and the pleasure felt in its performance.

Of the high qualifications enumerated by a writer in the *Quarterly Review* as necessary for the proper performance of this task, but few are possessed by him who has undertaken it[e]. Nevertheless, he still hopes that

[c] Isaiah, xlv, 14.

[d] Jeremiah, xlvi, 9.

[e] "We would gladly see the whole work made accessible to the English reader; but it would require no ordinary accomplishments to do so. Oriental, classical, and modern languages must be alike familiar to the person who should undertake the task." *Quarterly Review*, No. LXXXV, p. 118, note. The translator cannot but congratulate the public upon the able hands which the remaining parts of this work are now in.

what he has done will be found to be a correct version of the German: and he is led to state this with more confidence from its having received the sanction and commendation of Professor Heeren himself. That learned gentleman, at the request of the publisher of these volumes, kindly took upon himself the task of reading over the sheets before publication—a task to which his knowledge of the English language rendered him competent, and which the numerous corrections he has made, show him to have executed with much care and attention. Soon after the first thirteen sheets had been transmitted to him, the learned author writes, "I have read them with attention, and attest that they are made with a due knowledge of the two languages, and with all the accuracy which I could desire. I should be well content if the continuation should be executed with the same diligence; and if the whole of my works should be presented in this form to the English public." In a letter received a few days since, containing the Professor's corrections and emendations of the whole of the first volume and the principal part of the second, together with the Appendix IX to the first volume, which has never before been published, he again expresses his approbation of the English version. A considerable part of the first volume was also revised by a gentleman distinguished for his accomplishments, and his high attainments in Classical and German Literature, whose name (were I at liberty to mention it) would give the reader entire confidence in this part of the work.

Besides the Appendix just mentioned, there is prefixed to this translation the GENERAL INTRODUCTION of the author to his Reflections upon the Nations of Antiquity, which, in the German, is found at the beginning of the volume on the Persians. It has been thought proper to prefix it to these volumes, as con-

taining a concise and general development of the first rise of states and governments; of the influence of religion in their formation, and of its beneficial effects upon legislation; of the origin of commerce, and of its offspring, civilization, navigation, and finance. These particulars are so skilfully grouped, so luminously displayed, and the whole finished with so much judgment and taste, that it altogether forms an historical *chef d'œuvre*.

The translator regrets the necessity of adding a list of errata. Ill health, and consequent absence from Oxford while the work was in progress, are the only apology he has to offer for these and any other blemishes which may be found in the work.

Although the business of translating be perhaps the most humble connected with literature, yet some anxiety is naturally felt for the success of what has cost us much labour. From this feeling the translator of the present work does not profess to be exempt: perhaps it is increased by this being the first literary attempt he has offered to the public. Nevertheless, as he has aimed at nothing beyond clothing the ideas of another in an English dress, he expects no higher praise than that of having executed his task with fidelity, and of having by so doing contributed his feeble efforts for the advancement of knowledge.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the Appendix vi. vol. i. I have given the original Latin as well as an English version of the portions of Avienus, which Prof. Heeren has translated into German. The description given by Heeren of the early Carthaginian voyages in the Atlantic Ocean, receive no

small confirmation from the ancient traditions of the Irish. No one but a genuine Irish antiquarian would, of course, contend that the Annals collected by Keating, Flaherty, and O'Connor, are to be received as implicitly as "Holy Writ," and no one but a confirmed sceptic would reject them as wholly unworthy of attention[e]. There is in all the varying accounts given by the Irish historians, one fact in which all the traditions meet—that letters and some of the arts of civilized life were brought to their country by a people called Phenians; by a change, which, as Faber remarks, is very common in the traditions respecting the origin of nations, the people is sometimes spoken of as an individual, and the personified Phenius becomes the inventor of letters[f] and the parent of civilization. The route prescribed for the Phenians, or the descendants of the imaginary Phenius, brings them from some part of the Levantine coast to the western Mediterranean, and thence round Spain to the British islands. In the oldest legends no date is assigned to the successive steps of this migration, and the chronology given by Keating and O'Connor is manifestly a clumsy forgery by the monks in the middle ages. Still there are some circumstances which would lead to the conclusion that the period when the Phenians came to Ireland, must have been nearly that which is

[e] Turner, *History of English Middle Ages*, i, 276, says, that of all their traditions, one of their most ancient and least irrational is that which deduces some part of their population from Spain.—A Greek writer, Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, mentions this tradition twice; and his account is valuable, as it shows that in the ninth century the Irish derived themselves from Spain, when they had no motive but their own traditions to do so.

[f] Much has been disputed about the Irish letters. The Bobeloth characters, the Beth-luisnon, Ogham, and Ogham-Crabh writing; have been eagerly dilated on. But also it has been fancied that Fenius Farsadh, the pronepos of Japhet, first invented Irish letters. Turner's *Middle Ages*, vi, 277.

assigned for the voyage of Himilco. Of these the most remarkable is the tradition that a colony of Phenians worked the mines in the county of Wicklow, and that another discovered metallic treasures at Killarney. Now it is sufficiently well known, that the first mines worked by the Poeni, as the Carthaginians should properly be called, were those in Spain, and that the art of mining was brought there to some degree of perfection about the time of Himilco's expedition.

The appearance of the ancient shafts in different parts of Ireland is precisely similar to that which travellers in Spain assure us is presented by the remaining traces of Carthaginian works; the brazen instruments sometimes dug up in the Irish bogs, are found when assayed to have the same proportions of mixture in the metals, as the Carthaginian relics discovered in Sicily and Italy; and the shape of several ornaments found at various times is perfectly congruous to the description given of Carthaginian habits by the Roman historians. Of the coincidences in language it is useless to speak, for the only relic of the Carthaginian tongue is so hopelessly corrupt, that it may be wrested to support any system of which the wildest antiquarian ever dreamed.

The long disputed question of the Milesian settlement in Ireland may be then settled, if we suppose that the Phenians were a Carthaginian colony; their acquiring the mastery of the country will not appear surprising when we reflect that a handful of Englishmen at the present moment rules over Hindostan; and the pretensions of the Irish to remote antiquity and an eastern origin will appear to have resulted from the adoption of the traditions, which the colonies that introduced letters, brought with them from the parent state. In these traditions no note was taken of time, no attempt made to separate what occurred in the earlier steps of the migration from what happened in

later periods. Hence room was afforded for the invention of all the fabulous tales that the fancy of flattering genealogists and dreaming monks could invent; but all these leave unchanged the simple fact, that the Irish traditions invariably ascribe the introduction of letters and the arts to a colony called Phenians, and ascribe to that colony a route precisely coincident with the progressive course of the Carthaginians.

Respecting the Cassiterides there are many interesting particulars in TURNER'S ANGLO-SAXONS (vol. i, p. 51, etc.) to which the reader is referred.

Oxford,
November, 1831.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Although Modern history possesses great importance from our proximity in point of time to the actions it records, as well as their manifold relations to the age in which we live, yet on the other hand Ancient history is not without certain advantages peculiar to itself; which notwithstanding the many centuries that have intervened, confer upon its records the appearance, as it were, and the graces of a perpetual youth. The crowds of illustrious men conspicuous in its annals, as citizens, as statesmen, or as warriors, will never cease to have their admirers, and, it may be hoped, their imitators also; and even if we admit that these heroes of past ages may have been indebted for part of their grandeur to the venerable mists of antiquity through which we contemplate them, yet does Ancient history possess an incontestible advantage over that of Modern times in the rich variety of the forms of government and polity which it unfolds to us. Modern history is confined to Europe, or, beyond those limits, to the colonial settlements of Europeans; and consequently, throughout all its details relative to civilized nations, preserves an uniformity which is the necessary result of the almost equal degree of refinement they have attained. This similarity of manners, arts, and religion, has, in some degree, given to mankind at large, as contemplated in these countries, the appear-

ance of one mighty nation, which may be considered, notwithstanding some subordinate differences, as forming an uniform whole. How different an aspect does the Old world present to us! The most civilized nations of the earth were not then, like those of modern Europe, the links of a general system; were not pent up within one quarter of the globe, but dispersed through all the parts of it then known: lastly, they were not associated by the ties of a common religion. Every nation, in consequence, much more readily assumed and maintained a character peculiar to itself; a great diversity of governments grew up and flourished together; and thus it is that Ancient history, although many of our present constitutions were then unknown, enlarges the sphere of our observation, and affords us, in the variety of the forms of government presented to our notice, practical lessons of political wisdom.

On the other hand, questions relative to the commerce of ancient nations appear to be much less intimately connected, than is the case in modern times, with their political institutions; because commerce had not as yet excited in an equal degree the attention of their governments. Nevertheless, even at that time, there were states which in a greater or less degree owed their existence to commerce; and of which the institutions can be very imperfectly understood without a reference to this subject. We cannot however form a judgment on any individual question, till we shall have ascended so far in the history of Antiquity as to comprehend the whole extent of ancient commerce, with its principal characteristics, by the light of such records as have been preserved to us. This will justify the extensiveness of the present inquiries, which embrace the trade as well as the political constitutions of the ancient world. Both these questions will be elucidated, according to the plan of the present work,

by the inquiries we shall pursue respecting some of the most prominent nations *individually;* but it is necessary to offer first some general observations, which by developing certain principles, may contribute to illustrate the detail which follows.

Nothing can, in itself, be more obscure than the question respecting the formation of states or civil societies, (expressions which we may consider as synonymous), and the causes of the diversity of form they have assumed; but this question, which the very remoteness of their origin and the want of credible information renders so difficult, has been still more embarrassed by the practice of transferring to ancient times ideas drawn from the constitutions of existing nations, which are utterly inapplicable to those of Antiquity. The farther we advance in such investigations the more we shall have reason to be convinced, that the origin of political constitutions was, at the first, exceedingly simple, and as far as possible from being the effect of deliberate intention or established principles; being much more the result of circumstances and necessity. It is seldom, however, that the history of nations ascends so far: but our observations on such tribes as are still in their political infancy supply us with data respecting the progress of ancient nations, which we shall in vain expect from the history of the latter[a]; nor was there ever a period when the opportunities of making such observations were more copious

[a] Among the works illustrative of the history and geography of nations which have appeared since the last edition of these Inquiries, deserves to be mentioned first: MONTSTUART ELPHINSTON'S *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies*, London, 1815: the author of which had visited Afghanistan, as ambassador at the court of Cabul. The Afghans are at present precisely in a *transition-state*, half pastoral and half agricultural. Tribes of both classes live intermingled; and in no part of the world are there greater opportunities for studying with advantage the outlines of civil society in its infancy; respecting which the accomplished author has afforded us details as authentic as they are interesting.

than at present. What then are the general conclusions to which such observations lead us, and how do they agree with the records which have been preserved to us in Ancient history?

The first bond of community existing among men was, beyond all question, the natural one of *domestic* ties. It is greatly to be doubted whether any people ever existed, among whom the law of marriage, or the domestic alliance of the two sexes, did not prevail; and even if an instance or two could be cited, it may safely be pronounced that such a state of society would resolve itself into barbarism The very bond, however, of domestic society implied an inequality which was necessarily productive of authority on the one hand and submission on the other. Among barbarous nations the husband is always the lord of his wife and of his children, so long as the latter are supported by him; and as the moral motives which should mitigate this authority are few and feeble, it is apt to degenerate into absolute despotism. His wife and his children are treated by the lordly savage as parts of his property; and all the laborious occupations of the household or the field, and every task which does not demand courage as well as strength, are laid upon the females of the family.

It cannot escape an attentive observer, that this sort of domestic tyranny, so early established and the fruitful source of so many evils, must also have been a serious obstacle to the establishment of a better order of things. By whatever means any thing like a *constitution* may be effected, it presupposes the association and combination of a considerable number of separate families. Can it then be matter of surprise that we find so many abuses in civil constitutions, when their roots had already penetrated so deep into the domestic relations from which the latter were formed?

This bond, however, of consanguinity, is much more

extensive and powerful among savage tribes than among civilized nations. The different members of the family do not, as with us, devote themselves, as soon as they have attained a certain age, to various occupations in the world without, and thus separate from the parent-stock. All pursue the same occupation, whether it be hunting or the tending of cattle. Consequently the families remain united: they gragually form Tribes, and the Tribes—Nations. The distinction of Tribes is universally prevalent, and no less influential among the savages of North America or Australasia, than among the half-savage inhabitants of Central Asia, or of the deserts of Arabia and Africa. The members of the same tribe settle or migrate together: and although the first formation of such societies was undoubtedly the effect of a law of Nature, yet their common interest must have confirmed and strengthened the bond of union, as providing for their mutual defence and security during their continual petty wars. It is always the case that tribes of this sort are subjected to a despotic authority possessed by the head of their race; who owes his power to the patriarchal privileges of his birth, and consequently is sometimes tempted to indulge it, till it becomes an oppressive tyranny: at the same time that the dependents of other chiefs are nowise sufferers in their personal freedom.

We must distinguish, however, between such patriarchial authorities, prevalent among wandering tribes, and the civil and political constitutions which presuppose settled habitations and territorial possessions. It is true that even the pastoral state of such tribes can hardly exist without the acknowledgment of certain laws of property: the herds, for instance, are considered to belong to certain individuals, and occasionally the pastures to certain tribes; but the occupations of such races of men, confined principally to the tending

of cattle, are so exceedingly easy and simple, that they fail to supply motives for the development of their faculties. The questions which arise among them respecting their possessions are so little intricate, that the decision of the head of the tribe is sufficient to compose all their differences respecting the grand controversy of *Meum* and *Tuum*. Another state of things prevails when such wandering tribes obtain settled possessions, and the law of absolute proprietorship over certain lands and territories is introduced in favour of individuals. It is not easy to define in each instance, on historical grounds, how and when this came to pass: partly because our records rarely ascend so high, and partly because these changes rarely took place simultaneously, but for the most part gradually and insensibly. We may however allege a multitude of causes, connected with the climate, the nature of the soil, and the external relations of each nation, which contributed to effect this change, and will afford us abundant matter for observation.

The consequence of this adoption of settled habitations was the establishment of towns and cities, which severally possessed their respective territory, of greater or less extent. The effect of the formation of communities of this sort was the commencement of certain relations between the inhabitants of the same place; and the outline, however rude, of something like a civil constitution. The unity of their interests and their common security, required that they should be governed by councils common to all, and guided by the same leader. The authority of the heads of tribes and families declined in the same proportion: because as these cities increased in population they gave occasion for a great diversity of arts and occupations, which facilitated the resort of strangers, and contributed to break through the distinctions of clan and tribe.

Whatever may have been the original causes of the

formation of such cities or communities, for the present inquiry one fact is amply sufficient,—that in several countries of the Old World, such as Egypt, Syria, Italy, etc., we find that cities existed at the earliest period to which our acquaintance with those countries ascends.

Such an origin of civil government was the frequent and perhaps universal source of the constitutions which we denominate Republican. To this inference we are led by all the evidence which Ancient history has preserved to us; without pretending to establish an hypothesis which might be made the basis of still broader conclusions. The free states of Antiquity, as far as we are acquainted with them, were nothing more than cities surrounded by their peculiar districts; and this character they continued to preserve, whatever degree of political consequence they may have subsequently attained. At the same time, the greatest differences prevailed with regard to the equality or inequality of rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of the country as compared with the citizens of the town. The Phœnician, Grecian, and Italian free states were of this description. It is easy to conceive, from what has been advanced, how such a state of things may have commenced and been established in a single city, or even throughout a territory of small extent, (though in this case there always previously existed, or was soon formed, some chief town); while it is very difficult to imagine how an entire nation, dispersed over an extensive tract of country, could fall at once upon the expedient of adopting a free civil constitution[b].

With respect to such constitutions, it is easy to see

[b] The example of the Jewish confederacy is not a proof to the contrary. The various tribes which composed it would have been effectually dissolved in a complete anarchy, if the establishment of kingly power among them had not contributed to hold them together.

not only how they came to be greatly diversified, but also how some of them attained great importance. It is true that their leading characteristics must always have continued essentially the same. When the state consisted of a number of citizens possessing equal rights, it was a necessary consequence that assemblies should be convened from time to time to debate on their common interests. In such assemblies all the inhabitants of the same town or its territory, being members of the same community, were entitled to appear in person: and this circumstance may furnish us with an answer to the question,—How it came to pass that the Representative System, as it obtains among the moderns, continued so long unknown to the ancients? —Because the very forms and constitution of their republics, implying as they did a right of voting in person, excluded the idea of *representation*. For several reasons, however, it was found necessary to remedy the defects inherent in a form of government purely democratical, by establishing another council, consisting of men of some experience, who might be constantly at hand to supply the place of assemblies which could not be always held, and to decide questions of a nature remote from the apprehension of a popular meeting. Such a council was formed under the name of a Senate, and consisted of the most considerable and most experienced citizens, constituting a distinct and independent body. Finally, as the various departments of the administration demanded a number of special functionaries, it became necessary to create Magistrates, who were intrusted with a greater or less degree of authority according to circumstances.

Such was necessarily the outline of the civil constitutions of all the ancient republics; Comitia—a Senate —and Magistrates composing their principal parts. Yet, notwithstanding this general similarity, what a diversity of modifications may we expect to discover in

them! It is impossible that in any state an absolute equality should exist between its members. The unavoidable differences of opulence and poverty will for the most part bring with them a political inequality also. The hereditary disposition of the more distinguished families, to appropriate to themselves the exclusive possession of honours and offices necessarily tends to establish a patrician caste, which would engross the control of all public business. In this manner the constitution would become more or less aristocratic or democratic (to borrow the language of the Greeks); and the same principles will serve to show how individuals also came to acquire an authority more or less arbitrary. Differences no less important would obtain with respect to the senate, the number of its members, as well as the number, the offices, the authority, and the denominations of the magistrates. An example of such diversities we may remark in the free towns of Germany during the days of their liberty; and which is preserved in the few which still subsist. No other country has borrowed so largely from the political institutions of Antiquity, (as may be best seen by tracing back the history of such free towns for two or three hundred years), notwithstanding some diversities which it does not belong to this place to point out.

Such republics were necessarily of small extent at their commencement: without however renouncing their original character, they were often enabled in various ways to extend the limits of their power and their territory, and even to become the mistresses of empires, as, for instance, Rome and Carthage. When several communities belonging to the same nation were situated near each other, they naturally formed a mutual alliance; especially when the pressure of enemies from without drove them to combine their means of resistance. In such cases it was natural that the most considerable state or city should place itself

at the head of the confederation, and assume a precedence, which almost necessarily degenerated into a species of domination; of which we see examples in the conduct of Rome towards the Latin states, of Tyre with respect to the Phœnician, of Thebes with respect to those of Bœotia, etc. Nevertheless, the inferior cities would still continue to lay claim to a certain independence. In questions affecting the whole confederacy, such as those of peace and war, the superior state might sometimes carry its claims of precedence to the extent of an absolute supremacy; but so long as her general authority remained unquestioned, she did not much concern herself with the internal polity of the inferior states, or with matters which only affected them individually. Such a precedence enjoyed by the principal state will readily explain how cities, insignificant in themselves, were able to attempt and achieve conquests, aided in many cases by a combination of favourable circumstances, with men of talent and spirit at the head of affairs, and enjoying the resources which their navigation, commerce, and mines supplied.

But besides this class of states, whose origin and formation we have endeavoured to illustrate, Ancient history presents us with another totally different in all the circumstances of their creation and constitution,—in the *Great Monarchies* of antiquity; of which the origin was often no less rapid than their extent was enormous. Some of them were of moderate size and consisted of a single people; the power of their kings being derived from the ancient hereditary law of patriarchal authority. In this manner in Epirus, Macedonia, and elsewhere, the family of their native princes maintained itself on the throne. Others, however, (and those in every respect the most considerable), comprehended under one dominion a multitude of all nations and languages. It is not to be supposed that

a number of independent nations should have voluntarily submitted themselves to one, and it is, *à priori*, much more probable that such a state of things was the result, for the most part, of the rapid growth and victorious progress of a conquering people. The sequel of these inquiries will convince us, in the case of Asia, that such conquering nations, were for the most part, wanderers and shepherds, who forsook their own barren abodes, allured by the prospect of booty and the hope of possessing richer and better cultivated regions, which they overran, pillaged, and subdued. Even if these conquerors had been less barbarous than they were, it is obvious that the whole political condition of such monarchies was necessarily formed on a model totally different from that which prevailed in republics, which owed their existence to the erection of cities and establishment of communities. In a kingdom founded upon the right of conquest the authority of the ruler could only be maintained by force of arms; and even if a military despotism in its fullest extent were not the consequence, it is obvious that the constitution must partake of that character. An absolute monarchy is the inevitable result; sufficiently rigid to preclude such states from ever assuming the character of *free:* and this may already serve to explain in part the remarkable contrast which the great Monarchies present, in their internal constitution and development, to the Republics of antiquity.

If we are not at liberty to affirm that all the ancient forms of government originated in the manner we have described; it is at least certain that the greater number and the most powerful of the states then existing may be classed under one or other of these two descriptions. When we reflect, however, that all civil societies, which deserve the name, are associations of free men;—that it was not possible that any thing like political wisdom or sound philosophy should have re-

gulated their first formation;—that the very desire of security and mutual defence which contributed to their creation was not likely to be at all times equally urgent, and might sometimes be forgotten,—when all these considerations present themselves to the mind of the inquisitive historian he feels that, in the infancy of the human race, such communities could not have been held together except by a more durable and powerful bond than all of these,—that of *Religion*. There is no conclusion which political history supplies more remarkable than this: that the farther we advance in the history of any nation the greater becomes the influence of religion in state affairs: and it is the more necessary to advert to this early combination of Religion with Polity, because many circumstances in the following inquiries can only be illustrated by referring to such an union. On the present occasion I use the term Religion to express the barbarous reverence which uncivilized nations have always paid, by certain rites and customs, to imaginary deities; under whatever form they may have been represented or conceived to exist. Whether there may or may not exist some tribes among whom no traces of religion, (in the above sense of the word), can be discovered, is a question which has not been perfectly ascertained, and which, in the present case, is immaterial; since, even if such exist, they form at all events exceptions of the rarest occurrence. Now to convert such a religion into a bond of political union, it is only necessary that it should possess in each nation or tribe a *national* character, as is generally the case; since, as is proved by a multitude of examples, every nation is easily led to adopt certain gods as its tutelary and peculiar deities. Such an idea,—of a tutelary deity the common protector of the whole nation,—is obviously an invisible bond of interest and alliance. From being an invisible bond of union it is calculated to become a visible one also,

and in this respect is especially influential. As soon as the worship of their deities became connected with some particular spot, and took place in some national temple or sanctuary, with public festivals at which all the nation and only that nation assisted,—so soon was there established among them a principle of *unity*, independent of external circumstances, and allied to the innermost feelings of man. Of this we find abundant confirmation in every page of Ancient history.

A state consisting of a single city with its petty territory, in which the very circumstance of its inhabitants living together establishes a strong bond of union, can better subsist without this tie of a common religion, though even in this case it can hardly be altogether dispensed with. But the absolute necessity for such an alliance is best seen in the cases of confederations formed after the manner we have been describing. The very idea of combination implies a previous state of separation, and on this account extraordinary means are necessary to prevent the dissolution of the confederacy and a return to the original condition. It may be added, that as every such association imposes on its members certain common burthens, there is a natural tendency on the part of the combined states to release themselves from such obligations, so soon as circumstances may permit. What then shall insure the durability of such alliances? It is true that the pressure of foreign enemies and the necessity for a combined resistance may effect this for a time, but such occasions are transitory:—even the influence of a paramount authority can insure it only to a certain extent, and only while completely predominant:—Religion alone can maintain such an union, through the influence of common rites and temples, which confer an individuality, as it were, upon the nation;—which appeal to the senses, and the heart; which distinguish that from all

other nations, and by that very circumstance infuse into it a spirit of *nationality*. In this manner the temple of the Tyrian Hercules became the centre of the Phœnician League,—that of Jupiter Latialis of the Latin confederacy; and thus it was that the Grecian states, discordant in their forms of government and disunited by frequent wars, yet felt themselves to be members of one community, when assembled to celebrate the festival of the Olympian Jupiter.

It is true that Religion can afford no such bond of union to a variety of nations of different origin and various creeds, who formed one mighty mass only in consequence of the superior power of their common conquerors. In as far indeed as the religion of the conquering nation superseded those of the conquered, it exercised of course a considerable but not an universal influence; but its principal efficacy in such cases consisted in its introducing *legislation*, which opposed, as it were, some bounds to the overwhelming violence of military despots, and limited what it could not control. Legislation, to be effectual and to insure respect, demands the sanction of a higher authority. Among nations which have already attained a certain degree of intellectual cultivation and political constitution, the laws, it is true, will of themselves command respect, because men have had time to be convinced that obedience is a duty; but such sentiments were not to be looked for among rude and uneducated tribes, who were not disposed to venerate the laws, except as far as they were sanctioned by religion. For this reason, in the earliest ages of antiquity, civil institutions, no less than those which were of a character strictly religious, bore the impress of Religion; and even in the present day we see an example of it in the case of all those nations which own the authority of the Koran. Among the Greeks and Romans also, the enactments of Lycurgus and Numa

were sanctioned by the authority of the popular religion. Such a state of things naturally caused the establishment of a *sacerdotal* race, as a distinct order, or even *caste*, (the customs of the East differing in this respect from those of Greece and Rome), which necessarily attained the highest influence in political questions; an influence which although occasionally abused, was not without its good effects in limiting the omnipotence of the monarch. Religion also prescribed certain ceremonies which all were equally bound to observe; and the duty of observing them, and the forms they imposed, placed some salutary limits to the power of the sovereign.

The above must be received as merely some general observations on the political constitutions of the Ancients, which in the sequel we shall have abundant occasion to apply to particular examples. A system of Polity, in the full sense of the term, is not the proper subject of researches which necessarily follow the course of History. Nevertheless, if I do not deceive myself, the remarks already offered suggest an explanation of some obscurities which, in the opinion of many of our Theorists, involve the first origin of civil society. We do not consider the formation of such societies to be the result of a formal, social *compact*—the very idea of which is at variance with the condition of a people still in their infancy:—nor do we think that any thing like the *discovery* of a constitution took place at a definite period; but we believe it to have grown insensibly out of the exigences and the passions of mankind. All this was so far from being the result of Theory, that it is probable the notion of a theory never entered the heads of the first founders of states, whatever may have been thought of subsequently; and in consequence of this want of system at their commencement, the different forms of government assumed a variety of character, which the Theo-

rist finds it hard to reduce to the classifications of modern systems.

The origin of *Commerce* is involved in no less obscurity than that of Government. Though we may be convinced that in general it must have originated in the wants of mankind, and the consequent interchange of various commodities, yet many important questions still remain, which history cannot solve satisfactorily. For instance, we are either altogether ignorant or little less than ignorant, when and how men first came to convert simple *barter* to *commerce*, properly so called, by affixing an adventitious value to the precious metals as measures of the price of a commodity;—how this arrangement became universal, and what were its earliest effects on commerce and civilization;—when gold and silver were first stamped and became current as coinage, and how this discovery also was universally disseminated? Such inquiries are beside our present purpose, and would probably be of little utility, since all that can with any certainty be ascertained on these subjects has been already said. It will be a much more necessary and, it is to be hoped, a more profitable task, to take a general survey of Ancient commerce at the period of its greatest prosperity, and to point out the peculiarities by which, as regards its objects and institutions, it was distinguished from the commerce of modern times.

It is obvious that so long as the fourth and largest quarter of our globe remained undiscovered, not only the direction, but the very character of commerce in general must have been essentially different from that of our own times. The three great continents of the Ancient world were not separated by the ocean, and either actually touched or nearly approached each other; and the only sea which was interposed between them all (the Mediterranean), was of limited extent. This occasioned the distinctive character belonging to

the commerce of antiquity as compared with that of our own days, namely, that the former was principally carried on by land; the trade by sea being merely an appendage to the land commerce. We are accustomed to consider improvements in commerce as inseparable from improvements in navigation; a way of judging totally inapplicable to Ancient times, in which the navigation of the Mediterranean, or along certain coasts, however active it may have been, was principally serviceable as assisting and co-operating with land-traffic, and as the means of transporting certain weighty commodities.

Commerce by sea, on the grand scale, owed its origin to the *discovery of America*. Up to that period the commerce of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages pursued, on the whole, the same course:—this great event alone formed an era in its history. The great highway (as it may be termed), which led from the East to Europe and Africa, continued unchanged on the whole, however it may have been altered by some slight deviations; and the traffic which it was the means of carrying on continued always the principal one. We may therefore be permitted to doubt whether the circumnavigation of Africa could ever have produced those great and general results which followed upon the discovery of America. It is probable that the communication with India would have long continued to be a mere coasting trade, such as it originally was.

But the discovery of America alone, independently of the circumnavigation of Africa, was sufficient to give a new character to the commerce of the world. That vast continent was accessible only across the Ocean; not to be approached by a timid navigation from promontory to promontory, or island to island. Either this great discovery, with all its immeasureable consequences, was to be renounced, or it was neces-

sary to brave the perils of the Atlantic. The ports of the Mediterranean became deserted as soon as those on the Western coasts of Europe were opened to fleets from both the Indies; and the Ocean at last assumed its proper character and natural pre-eminence, as the Highway for the commerce of the World.

As the commerce of Antiquity was principally carried on by land, we shall be better able to appreciate its nature and extent by taking a survey of the general characteristics of land traffic.

It is evident that the countries which are the most fruitful in the most valuable commodities (especially if these be peculiar to their soil), must also be able to supply the greatest quantity of exports; which will be sought by other nations, however remote, who may have learnt the value of such productions. Now the interior of Europe, till the times of the Roman Empire, continued in a state which made it incapable of assuming any importance in commerce. Some of the Southernmost States of Greece and of Italy had, to a certain degree, emerged from Barbarism:—the rest were so uncivilized—had so few wants, and so few commodities of their own to offer in exchange, that even if any thing like trade was carried on with them, it was not sufficiently important to rank as a branch of general commerce. Even that of Greece and Rome could be little more than what was necessary to supply their own demands. What productions—raw or manufactured—had they to offer to the East in return for hers? An exception must be made in favour of the South of Spain, the precious metals of which found a ready market in every country.

It is obvious, then, that Asia and Africa, both of them inhabited in a great measure by civilized nations, and both—(more particularly the eastern regions of Asia)—renowned for their splendid natural productions,—must have become the grand emporia of An-

cient commerce. Obstacles, however, unknown to modern Europeans, were presented by the vast extent of the Asiatic continent, the peculiarities of its geography and soil, the many deserts which intersect it, and the lawless hordes which infest them. The safety of the merchant accordingly demanded precautions unnecessary in our own countries. As it was impossible for single travellers to effect those long and hazardous journeys, it became necessary to collect companies either sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, or able to pay for the protection of a body of guards. Such bodies of men, which we are accustomed to designate by the word Caravans[c], could not, however, be collected at a moment's notice, or in every place; and it was necessary that a rendezvous should be appointed, that the merchants and travellers might know where to join a sufficient force for their common defence. In like manner the places of resort for the sale as well as the purchase of their merchandise were necessarily fixed, being recommended by their favourable position, or by some other circumstance, such as long usage; because in such situations alone the sellers were sure to meet a sufficient number of purchasers, and *vice versâ*. For like reasons the very course of the caravan was not a matter of free choice but of established custom. In the vast *steppes* and sandy deserts which they had to traverse, Nature had sparingly allotted to the traveller a few scattered places of rest, where under the shade of palm trees and beside the cool fountains at their feet, the merchant and his beast of burden might enjoy the refreshment rendered necessary by so much suffering. Such places of repose become also *entrepôts* of commerce, and not unfrequently the sites of temples and sanctuaries, under the

[c] I follow the common pronunciation of the word, which is properly *Kiervan*.

protection of which the merchant prosecuted his trade and to which the pilgrim resorted; and these frequently increased to great and opulent cities, and contributed, by motives of interest or necessity, to attract to the same route the various bands of travellers.

From all this it is apparent why such commerce by caravans became subject to certain rules, and restricted to a definite course. It is not wonderful therefore that the routes of caravans should have continued, on the whole, invariable, for hundreds and even for thousands of years; notwithstanding they may have been partially diverted by the decay or destruction of particular cities, or the growth of others in their stead. The same considerations will show us how it came to pass that certain situations peculiarly favourable for the transactions of land commerce, such as Egypt and Babylon, so soon assumed a conspicuous place in history; which they continued to preserve through the Middle Ages no less than in those of Antiquity, notwithstanding some occasional diminutions of their splendour. We shall also find that similar reasons led to the effect we have already pointed out, namely, that the commerce of the Middle Ages continued, on the whole, to be the same in its operations with that of Antiquity; and could not in fact have been otherwise, except it had changed its nature to a sea commerce from a traffic by land. Till this took place, in other words till the discovery of America, the species of commerce by land which was carried on, derived its characteristics not so much from the method it pursued and the countries it traversed, as from the nations by which it was maintained; and whether the grand channel of communication through Asia terminated at Tyre or at Alexandria, made no essential difference in the nature of the commerce itself.

The trade by caravans requires a multitude of beasts of burden, particularly of camels, an animal

fitted above all others not only for supporting great burdens, but for enduring long and painful journeys through desert tracts sparingly supplied with water. In like manner a number of camel-drivers are necessary, accustomed to the care of these animals, and like them habituated to support fatigue and privation. The horse and the mule though useful for such purposes are far inferior in these qualities to the camel; and accordingly we do not find any large communication by means of caravans to have existed except in regions where the camel, (the ship of the desert, as it is termed by the Arabs), is found. But this useful animal, though reduced to a state of perfect bondage, is not like the horse or the mule easily reared in the stable; it loves the free air and open country, and consequently the rearing of camels has, on the whole, continued at all times the occupation of nomadic tribes. This will already explain how such tribes,—(even if their habitual mode of life had been less analogous than it was to that of the followers of a caravan),—came to devote themselves so much to this mode of traffic. When they did not themselves become merchants they were accustomed (as we shall see by examples cited in the course of this work) to supply beasts of burden to the inhabitants of mercantile cities, and not unfrequently to undertake the transport of commodities for others[d]; and when we consider that one half of Asia and of Africa is occupied by such roving tribes and their herds[e], can we be sur-

[d] See ELPHINSTON's account of Cabul, p. 290, fol.

[e] The camel is found throughout the whole of Southern and Central Asia as far as 53° N. lat.; as well as throughout the whole of Northern Africa. We have no means of knowing to what extent it is found in Southern Africa, but it would appear to be entirely unknown there; possibly never passing the great chain of mountains which divides that continent. I have pointed out in another work the effect which the importation of this useful animal might have on the commerce of those countries, *Hist. Works*, ii, 8. 420.

prised that this description of traffic should have been so widely extended?

Whatever may be the strength of the camel, it was still too limited not to have the effect of restricting the commerce carried on by its means. Many hundred camels would scarcely suffice to convey the freight of one of our East Indiamen; and consequently the transport of wares by such means of conveyance must have been exceedingly confined. Articles of great weight or bulk are necessarily transported in much smaller quantities by land; and this will explain the fact how so many of the most valuable products of distant countries, though known to exist, so seldom became articles of commerce among the Ancients. How, for instance, could rice, the most valuable of all the productions of the East, be conveyed in any large quantities to Europe? How could the sugar and saltpetre of Bengal be transported by land to the markets of the West? On the other hand, articles of less weight but great value, such as spices, perfumes, light apparel, the precious stones and metals, etc. were readily transported, and on that account also became objects of primary importance in Ancient commerce.

These remarks will have the effect of illustrating the great importance of the communication by means of caravans to the nations of Antiquity. Civilization being generally the result of commerce, it is obvious that the progress in this respect of the nations of Africa and Asia mainly depended on such a mode of intercourse; and a moment's consideration will teach us how it was calculated, in itself, to promote by twofold relations such a consequence. In the first place a communication by caravans always creates a considerable *intermediate* commerce. The caravans necessarily traverse various countries and nations, and the demands of these, as well as the interest of the merchants, have the effect of promoting an interchange of articles of

commerce. It is true that in many cases this continued for centuries extremely simple, and it would be an extremely hasty conclusion to assert that in every case a progressive improvement in civilization was the necessary result of such traffic; which is apt to be limited according to the luxuries or necessaries in demand. In proportion however as such interchange is confined to profitable and excludes injurious articles of commerce, it produces an immediate improvement in the economy of domestic life. Among more civilized nations it is proportionably extensive; and although the fixed track to which the caravans are confined prevents their disseminating very widely an equal degree of improvement, yet such a mode of communication has the effect, as we have already seen, of creating certain emporia of commerce along the line of its route, which being frequented by numbers attracted by the love of gain, gradually grow up into flourishing cities, and, following the usual progress of refinement, increase in wealth and civilization,—in luxury and corruption. The progress of commerce at large being intimately connected with this species of *intermediate* traffic, the importance of the latter is sufficiently obvious.

Notwithstanding the prevalence in Ancient times of land commerce, we must not lose sight of the trade then carried on by sea, particularly as it has been variously misrepresented by authors. Some have not scrupled to send the fleets of the Tyrians and Carthaginians to America; while others have denied their means of effecting the distant voyages of which we possess indisputable evidence.

The chief characteristic of the navigation of the Ancients was this: that it continued to be at all times a coasting navigation. The sailors of Antiquity never quitted the land except when constrained to do so by some unavoidable necessity, such as the violence of cur-

rents, or when the passage from one coast to the other was of the shortest duration. It is the general opinion that they were compelled to adhere to the land for want of the mariner's compass; but the true reason must be sought in the scantiness of their geographical knowledge, which embraced only three parts of the world. To induce seamen to make distant voyages across an open sea some *object* is necessary, which, before the discovery of America, did not exist to any. Such long navigations were not attempted nor desired; and it may be doubted whether the bare circumstance of the invention of the compass could have ever given rise to them, had not a daring adventurer been conducted by it to the discovery of regions on the other side of the Atlantic. The mariner's compass had already been discovered more than a hundred years when Columbus first used it as his guide across the Ocean.

But while we admit the navigation of the Ancients to have been always carried on along the coast, we must be cautious how we attribute to it the degree of imperfection so liberally assigned it by many. It is certain that a coasting navigation is not only subject to greater difficulties and dangers than any other, but has the property, in consequence, of forming at all times the most expert seamen. Is it not true that at the present day the Newfoundland fisheries and the coal-trade form the best mariners of England? The greater frequency of danger in such navigations habituates the sailor to overcome and despise it. It would be a most unwarrantable inference, therefore, to conclude that, because the nations of Antiquity confined themselves to coasting voyages of small extent, they were therefore deficient in maritime experience and skill. It was by the prosecution of such voyages that the Portuguese found their way to the East Indies. The very position of the three continents of the

Ancient world precluded the possibility of fixing any absolute limit to navigation; and nothing was more likely to advance discovery than the long continuance of such coasting voyages. No insurmountable barrier prohibited farther progress:—the love of lucre and the love of discovery perpetually allure the mariner onwards from the known to the unknown;—and when we reflect that the Carthaginians and Phœnicians were enabled to pursue at their leisure, and in profound peace, their long and adventurous voyages, we shall easily admit that they may have been gradually induced to extend them farther and farther till they had penetrated into very remote regions. Without attempting at present to draw any general inference from these observations, we may at least be convinced that it is a very unfounded proceeding to assert that the accounts we possess of the distant voyages of these nations along the coasts of Europe and Africa, and even of the circumnavigation of the latter, are fabulous, merely because they do not coincide with our own preconceived notions of the unskilfulness of Ancient mariners. If we would have some *external* evidence,—what corroboration can be more strong than the instance of the Normans during the Middle Ages? Can it be doubted that *they* circumnavigated Europe? Or can we deny the fact of their voyages, which, nevertheless, from the relative position of their native country, were prosecuted under circumstances of much greater difficulty and danger than were the expeditions of Tyre and Carthage; seated as these were on the coasts of the Mediterranean?

At the same time the navigation of the Ancients was not so exclusively a coasting one as not occasionally to venture across the open sea; but within very moderate limits, and only in the case of narrow seas. A glance at a map of the Eastern hemisphere of the globe will show us two seas of this description, both

of great importance. The *Mediterranean*, with its subordinate portions, comprehending the Black sea; and the *Indian Ocean*, lying between the coasts of Eastern Africa, Arabia, and Hindostan, and comprising the Arabian and Persian gulfs.

The Mediterranean was obviously formed to be the principal scene of the commerce and navigation of the Ancients, by its position, in the centre of the three continents, and surrounded by the most fruitful and most civilized regions of the known world. The facility of its navigation was greatly increased by the abundance of islands strewed over its surface, the promontories which on every side stretch far into its bosom, and by the smallness of its total extent. It served as the medium of communication between the inhabitants of the three continents, who, beyond all question, would have continued as uncivilized as those of central Africa, if the basin of the Mediterranean had been a *steppe*, like those of Mongolia.

In the Indian ocean, within the limits we have mentioned, navigation is facilitated not only by the vicinity of the opposite shores, and by the frequent occurrence of islands, but also by periodical winds, which change their direction twice in the year. During all the summer half-year, from May to October, the prevailing south-west winds wafted from the coast of Africa to those of Malabar and Ceylon the fleets which the north wind, prevailing at the same time, had carried down the Arabian gulf, and led through the straits of Babelmandeb: and in like manner, during our winter months, a constant north-easterly breeze served to conduct them home again, and taking a southerly direction as it entered the Arabian gulf, conveyed them securely to its innermost recess[f]. The sequel of these

[f] The Indian Ocean and the Arabian gulf have both of them their monsoons, which differ in their directions. In the latter, northerly winds

observations will convince us that at a very early period the nations of the South availed themselves of the advantages thus afforded them by nature; and will at the same time show us how easy it was for the Ancients to prosecute the voyages referred to, without supposing the nature of their navigation to have undergone a change.

The extreme difference between the commerce of the Ancients and that of the Moderns must be apparent from what has been advanced, but it will be rendered yet more evident by a brief comparison of the system and objects of each.

The system of Ancient commerce was, on the whole, much more simple than that of modern nations; wanting many of the artificial improvements without which trade, as it now exists, could not be carried on. Its object was simply to supply certain demands of necessity or luxury; and these the merchant sought to sell at an advanced price, especially when he had bestowed upon them labour of his own. In this simple manner he acquired competence or wealth; but without carrying his speculations or his views any farther. Consequently the commerce of the Ancients was characterised by this leading circumstance,—that it was a traffic or barter of *commodities*. In many cases, especially in very ancient times, these commodities were simply exchanged by way of barter; and even when the precious metals became the standard of value, they were at first employed with a reference to their weight, and only at a later period as coins properly so called. We know indeed that the Phœnicians, the Persians, and other nations possessed a coinage of

prevail during the summer, and in the former south-westerly; which assist the navigation towards the coast of Malabar. On the other hand, during the winter months north-easterly winds prevail in the Ocean, and, in the Arabian gulf, gales from the south; the effect of which is such as has been described.

their own, and we are certain that some species of coin (the Daric for instance), were current among the Greeks also; but it is not known to what extent this practice prevailed. One thing however is certain, that there was nothing like a *money trade* established among the Ancients, which at present forms a very principal branch of European commerce, and which if it existed at all, was then merely in its infancy. In some of the great cities, such as Athens, Rome, Alexandria, etc., the constant influx of foreigners must have given rise to the trade of money-changers; but as long as there was no *exchange*, properly so called, such partial and incomplete interchanges of coinage could never become a branch of trade. The instances to the contrary which have been produced from certain Ancient authors are of an extremely doubtful nature, and appear to be nothing more than cases of orders of payment. It was natural that these should be drawn on a third person, but the art was not yet known of making them circulate, and converting them into articles of commerce. In modern days, the money market at large is intimately connected with public credit, particularly with that of the great commercial states; and may be considered as a consequence of the habit so universally adopted and understood, of contracting and liquidating at a minimum price public debts. Such a practice was unknown, because unnecessary, in Ancient times. The moderate expenditure of Ancient governments was supplied either by means of tribute, or, in the free states, extraordinary occasions were met by voluntary loans on the part of the citizens, which were subsequently repaid; without ever affording grounds for mercantile speculation. A regular system of exchange must be dependent on certain general laws affecting that branch of trade, and can scarcely be maintained without a well-organised system of *Posts;* since every thing

depends upon a certain, rapid, and constant correspondence between the different money markets. Yet we are not at liberty to suppose the commerce of the Ancients to have been as inefficient as ours would be if all communication by postage were suddenly removed; since it is a very different thing to be deprived of an advantage, and never to have possessed it: in the latter case the difficulty suggests of itself some partial remedy. It is not, however, the less certain, that many branches of modern commerce owe their present activity,—nay their very existence,—to the communication established by the system of posts.

The greater simplicity of Ancient commerce is also shown by this circumstance, that a much less variety of employments was created by it, restricted as it was to the mere purchase and sale of commodities. Yet even in this respect we must not be too positive in our assertions. Who can pronounce with certainty all that passed in the great mercantile houses of Tyre or Carthage? We have many examples to prove that in commercial countries a great variety of employments has been always created by trade, besides those immediately devoted to it: for instance, in Egypt, the various mercantile agents, interpreters, brokers, etc.; and we are warranted by the unchangeable character of Oriental manners to infer that such was probably the case in Ancient times. The principal difference, therefore, lies between the commerce of Europe as it is, and as it was. Even in the East however it is probable that the circumstances of those times made it impossible for the merchant to transact, as he does at present, a great proportion of his affairs by means of others: he was obliged himself to travel into foreign countries to purchase his commodities, particularly into regions which (like Spain), from their situation on the other side of the Mediterranean, and from the barbarism of their inhabitants, did not admit of any other

mode of access. On this account also he was compelled, for the most part, to be at the same time the owner and captain of his vessel. All these observations are of course liable to many exceptions, but it may be safely asserted in general, that the very circumstance of the want of a regular communication by *posts* rendered it impossible for the Ancients to carry on their negociations in the manner now established, by *commission*.

The *objects* of commerce must have been obviously much more limited then than in the present day, not only because many articles of trade now of great importance were then either unknown or little used, but also because the means of conveyance employed were insufficient, as we have seen, to transport the weightier merchandises.

Among these must be comprehended the most necessary article of all—*Corn*. Allowing that such a trade may to a certain extent have been carried on by land, it is clear that this necessary of life could not have been so transported in large quantities, or to any great distance. A trade in corn is especially dependent on navigation, and, in ancient times, was limited, in general, to the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and possibly also of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. The coasts of Barbary and Egypt which at the present day are so productive, were then still more so, because more highly cultivated. Who does not know that Rome derived her very subsistence from their granaries, and those of Sicily?

The transport of Wine was attended with even greater difficulties; it being impossible to transport liquids in sufficient quantities on beasts of burden; and difficult and sometimes impossible for waggons to follow a caravan, from the want of roads, or the badness of them. There were also other circumstances which contributed to give a totally different character

to the wine-trade of the Ancients. The Western countries of Europe, which now almost exclusively supply the rest of the world with this article, then produced little or none, even for their own consumption; at the same time that they had little demand for this luxury, and (contrary to the present state of commerce in this respect), contributed little to increase its value as an article of trade. Every country was then content with a wine of its own; and the cultivation of the vine was the more considerable and the more widely disseminated, because there existed no religion which interdicted the use of the grape.

On the other hand, Oil was then a much more important article of commerce. It bears transportation better than some kinds of wine, and was at that time in universal request, in consequence of the little use of butter in the southern countries. It may be added, that the cultivation of the Olive has undergone little change: the districts which then produced that useful tree continue to produce it exclusively; and Sicily, and the southern coast of Italy, were then indebted to it for no small share of their prosperity.

The difficulties opposed to the conveyance of different articles of clothing were much less considerable, although the raw material could not be imported in such large quantities as at present. The most precious of these, silk, cotton, and fine wool, were peculiar to the East, and the sequel of these observations will show the high degree of importance attached to these commodities as articles of land commerce.

The precious productions of the East, spices and perfumes, particularly frankincense, poured in a rich stream through various channels from the coasts of India and Arabia, to supply the costly sacrifices of the Ancients. The subject will be treated more fully in the course of the present work, but it has been already

remarked, that no article of commerce was so well adapted to land carriage.

The epochs of the Roman and Macedonian empires are far from being the most important or the most instructive, either as respects the polity or the trade of the Ancients. The variety which distinguished the Ancient forms of government was necessarily overwhelmed by an universal dominion, and Commerce herself was apt to be fettered with the same bondage in which every other civil relation was confined. We must ascend to a more distant age, if we would contemplate the constitutions of the Ancients in all their diversity, and their commerce in its most tranquil and flourishing condition. The period immediately preceding the establishment, and during the continuance of the Persian monarchy, appears to offer to the historian the most satisfactory survey and the richest field of inquiry. By examining this epoch we shall be enabled to estimate correctly the commerce of Alexandria of a later date, and the questions arising out of the political systems of the Romans and Macedonians. In like manner, by ascending to the age referred to, we behold, as it were, every thing in its proper place, before the success of one nation had deprived the rest of their independence:—every commercial state then occupied the rank and position in the general system for which it appeared to be designed by its peculiar advantages. The shores of the Mediterranean were inhabited in every direction by industrious and seafaring nations: *Carthage* had occupied the greater part of the coast of Africa, and by opening her ports for the importation of foreign produce, had already begun to monopolise the commerce of the Interior. *Cyrene* was the immediate neighbour of Carthage and had become her rival, by her possessions along the eastern portion of the same coast. Over

against these cities the Grecian colonies of Sicily and Italy had grown, by the cultivation of their fruitful territories, to a degree of opulence and prosperity which in the end proved fatal to them. Their narrow limits could with difficulty produce as much oil and wine as was absorbed by the neighbouring country of Gaul, and the boundless continent of Africa; which were either altogether barren of these productions, or afforded them sparingly and with difficulty. Italy was then principally in the hands of the Etrusci; a nation who in spite of the jealous rivalry of Carthage, maintained themselves in the Mediterranean: while the *Romans*, pent up as yet within the limits of Latium, were content to carry on a peaceful traffic, and conclude a treaty of commerce with their future enemies the Carthaginians. The internal commerce of Gaul was in the hands of *Massilia*, the most peaceful and prosperous of all the Grecian States; while, on the coast of Spain, *Gades* and other independent Phœnician colonies, were mistresses of fleets which even braved the waves of the Atlantic.

The States of Greece, more particularly Athens and Corinth, with their Ionian dependencies, had secured to themselves the commerce of the Ægean and the Black Sea; and even Egypt, exclusive as it was (under the dominion of the Pharaohs), in all its institutions, had opened at Naucratis a free port for Grecian commerce. The later kings of this ancient dynasty went still farther, and with the hope of making themselves masters of Phœnicia and Syria, removed their residence from Memphis to Sais, and equipped fleets at the same time on the Arabian Gulf and the Mediterranean. The nations of Central Asia were brought into closer contact by the levies of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and even the compulsory migration of some conquered nations—(the first expedient which despotism in its infancy devised to maintain its conquests)—was not without some beneficial result, by

making different nations better acquainted with each other,—with their productions and their demands. The haughty *Babylon*, formed by her very position for the seat of empire and of commerce to the rest of Asia, had already become the resort of the arts and civilization; while Tyre and the other Phœnician states maintained their rights as the principal channels of communication for the trade of Asia and Europe: a trade which, though momentarily disturbed by the Persian conquest, presently resumed its former current. Under the dominion of the last, the whole of Central Asia assumed the internal arrangement of a settled empire: the traveller pursued without difficulty his way along the high roads from Sardes to Persepolis and Bactra; and the very remains of their palaces, decorated with the representations of public feasts, on occasion of which the different nations are portrayed as presenting their offerings before the throne of the monarch, are even now a striking proof of the industry and arts of the people, and the wise government of their kings.

If to this outline we add the commerce of Southern Africa and Ethiopia, carried on, as we shall have occasion to see, by means of caravans communicating with Carthage and Tyre across the deserts of that continent, we are presented (in the period we are contemplating), with a picture of life and activity—of the commerce and combinations of mankind,—extending over the fairest portions of the globe, and affording the historian a surprise and pleasure, proportioned to the multiplicity of the objects it embraces. Without pushing our inquiries to the utmost limits of recorded time, we take up our position at a period when the clear light of authentic history began to lose itself in the twilight of Tradition:—an obscurity which in proportion as it is capable of being penetrated, allures the curiosity of the observer. With-

out attempting to explore it beyond the limits to which the torch of criticism may safely conduct us, we may hope that occasionally some scattered rays may shoot far into its recesses.

Of this splendid picture we shall attempt to delineate at least the principal features. To this end we must cause the warlike races which usually occupy the most prominent place on the stage of History, to to withdraw awhile, and make room for more pacific and unpresuming nations. Let the march of devastating armies give place to that of peaceful caravans; and instead of ruined cities, let us contemplate the more pleasing spectacle of newly-founded and flourishing colonies.

PREFACE.

During the forty years which have now nearly elapsed since the first appearance of these Reflections upon Ancient Africa, a progress has been made in the exploration of this quarter of the globe, which far surpasses the highest expectations that could have been formed with any semblance of probability. Bruce's Travels, and the Narrative of Lucas, in the first part of the Proceedings of the African Society, were at that time the most important authorities to which I could have recourse for a comparison between the present Africa and the Ancient, which forms throughout the groundwork of these Researches. But the spirit of the age, which, with a power before unknown, achieved all it attempted, did wonders with regard to Africa. Hardy and enterprising adventurers, among whom were some of my personal friends, penetrated into its interior. The chief country, indeed, of this part of the world, once the cradle of civilization and science, unexpectedly obtained a political consequence which it had lost for centuries: it was the object of an expedition, led on by the hero of the age, with a literary as well as an armed retinue; of an expedition which, from the new stores of information it opened, will never be forgotten.

The fruits of these enterprises, by the honourable liberality of our government, were placed at my dis-

posal; and, encouraged by the indulgent reception which I saw vouchsafed to my first essay, I felt the obligation pressed upon me, to lay every new edition before the reader in as improved a state as possible. This I did in the second edition, which appeared in 1804, and which not only contained many additions and improvements, but was almost entirely rewritten. If this was rendered necessary formerly by the Travels of HORNEMANN, DENON, and others, it was not less so after the appearance of the great French work, *Description d'Egypte*, with its magnificent atlas of copper-plates, of which I made use in the third edition, published in 1815. It only remains for me now to state what has been done for the fourth.

Already, in the third edition, it was found necessary to divide the *Reflections upon the African Nations* into two volumes; the first containing the Carthaginians and Ethiopians, the second the Egyptians. The same division has been observed in this fourth edition. But the vast increase made to our stock of information respecting this quarter of the globe within the last ten years, has made numerous additions and occasional alterations necessary. For the section on the Carthaginians, much new information has been derived from the Travels of DELLA CELLA, which shows us, for the first time, what a rich harvest for the lovers of antiquity may be collected in the ancient Cyrenaica; from those of CAPTAIN LYON, who, following the footsteps of HORNEMANN, conducts us into the very heart of Africa; and, above all, the important work of General Count MINUTOLI, by which the ichnography and picture of the ancient Ammonium are laid before us.

Others, of which premature accounts have reached the public, such as those of Major Denham and his companion, could only be quoted from periodical publications, such as the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, the *Quarterly Review*, etc.

Still more important is the information which has lately been afforded us respecting Ethiopia. The names of Burkhardt, Belzoni, Gau, and Caillaud, of whom the two first, alas! have fallen sacrifices to their enterprising spirit, here become illustrious. To Burkhardt we are indebted for an accurate description of the tribes inhabiting those regions. Of Niebuhr it may truly be said, that there scarcely ever existed a traveller whose merit has been so soon and so generally acknowledged as that of my immortal friend: his name is already an authority both in the East and the West. Belzoni has erected himself a lasting monument by rescuing from the desert the gigantic grotto of Ipsambul. The great work of Gau now lies before our eyes, displaying with the most scientific accuracy, the monuments of Nubia as far as the cataract of Wadi Halfa. The bold enterprising spirit of Caillaud penetrated even still farther: the monuments of ancient Meroë could no longer remain concealed; and even the ancient temple of Jupiter Ammon again presents itself to our admiring eyes. The fruits also of these enterprises, so far as they have yet been made public, are placed within my reach; and what interesting matter I found therein for enriching this new edition, the discernment of the reader will discover. The chapter upon Meroë has been almost entirely rewritten. I was taught to regret the delayed publication of the *Travels of Gau and Caillaud*, by the use of the engravings; and even hesitated whether I ought not to defer the parts published till the appearance of the letterpress. The plates, however, lay almost complete before me; and it seemed to me, as these at all events must form the groundwork of the inquiry, most advantageous to form it upon my own judgment and view of these, and to leave a future comparison to the reader, or to supply the omission in an Appendix to some following part. When, however, I applied

through a common friend to MONSIEUR CAILLAUD, in order to obtain information respecting the appearance of his travels, he gave me for answer that they would be ready for the public in a few months; and tendered me, in the most obliging manner, more early communications; a favour I felt bound in justice to decline. But, not unacquainted with my former researches, he added an assurance, which I here give in his own words: "Le jugement de M. Caillaud sur la position de Meroë,", as he writes, "se rapporte parfaitement avec celui de M. Heeren; et il approuve beaucoup ce qu'il dit sur la marche de la civilisation entre l'Ethiopie et l'Egypte. Il pense, et atteste même, qu'un antique état de Meroë a joué un très grand rôle dans cette marche, et que les premiers progrès du développement des arts et de la civilisation sont descendus d'Ethiopie en Egypte, où ils se sont développés, et perfectionnés; qu'un grand nombre d'usages dans les cérémonies religieuses tout à fait perdus en Egypte, et que l'on retrouve dans les cérémonies anciennes, y sont encore conservés. Il a remarqué aussi, que le costume des habitans de certaines contrées a la plus grande resemblance avec le costume connu des peuples anciens. Il ajoute, qu'un grand nombre des monumens de ces contrées doivent dater d'une antiquité très reculée; que quant à beaucoup d'autres qui subsistent encore et dont les restes sont encore bien conservés, il ne croit pas qu'ils soient très anciens; les pluies qui tombent si abondamment dans ces pays devant contribuer et contribuant à leur destruction." All this will undoubtedly be farther explained and more accurately determined by the journal of Caillaud. The reader needs scarcely be told, that it gave me great pleasure to find this conformity of opinion between myself and a person who had been at the very place in question: whether it will give as much satisfaction to certain critics, who had already decreed that what has now come to pass

could not be, and who would rather shut their eyes than see, I shall leave them to settle.

Quite of another kind are the discoveries which the successful exertions of Champollion in deciphering hieroglyphics, especially the names of the Pharaohs, promise us. It is certainly to Egypt that they have the closest relation, and it is therefore in that part of my work that I shall more fully consider them; still, however, they touch upon Ethiopia. When it is remembered how many particulars in regard to this subject remain still undetermined, although the discovery of a phonetic alphabet is proved in general; if it be moreover considered, that without a knowledge of the Coptic no progress can here be made; it will not be expected that I in this path, following the footsteps of Champollion, should attempt blindly to grope my way. Still however I cannot pass over in total silence, as the reader will readily see, the relations which these discoveries bear to my researches. They will therefore be found quoted in a few places, not as proofs of my assertions, but merely to show the agreement of their results with my statements.

The advantages, then, of this new edition will appear from what I have now said. Every thing available in the new discoveries for the improvement of my work has been carefully made use of; and with that discriminating caution which would render it most likely to shed a clearer light upon the subject. How far I have attained my end the reader must judge; yet I flatter myself that fair critics will not underrate my endeavours to impart to these researches that degree of clearness and precision which my means and ability would allow.

The new maps which are appended will, I hope, give a proof of this. They represent ancient Africa, so far as is necessary for the present work, *previous* to the Ptolemeys and Romans. The modern names are always

enclosed within brackets: of the ancient, no more places are specified than could be conveniently given upon a general map without overcharging it; namely, the countries, nations, and cities which have some historical importance.

With much greater confidence than I did the foregoing do I now deliver this edition into the hands of the reader; as my former statements are here confirmed by additional evidence in numerous and important particulars. *The monuments are still standing;* and stand too firm to be disputed away by the efforts of daring criticism.

Göttingen, May 4th, 1825.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

AFRICA, from the earliest times to the present, has always excited, in a more lively degree than any other quarter of the world, the curiosity of mankind; and yet it has never been drawn forth from the mysterious obscurity in which it is involved. The great difficulties which the nature of its interior opposes to every attempt made to explore it, have prevented any one of them, up to the present time, from being successful beyond a certain point; but still what remained concealed, combined with the peculiar productions of its soil, has always offered a continual allurement to inquisitive spirits; and no sooner has one enterprise in part or altogether miscarried, than new ones have been formed. Nature seems to have destined Africa for her mysterious workshop: there peculiar races of men are formed; there the larger species of savage beasts, inhabitants of the desert, wander in safety; there a vegetable creation arises, the first glance at which tells us that it belongs to a distant and unknown region of the world.

Notwithstanding this, a considerable part of Africa broke through, at an early period, the thick darkness in which it seemed enveloped; and indeed, as a comparison of the latest discoveries with the earliest will show, a much greater portion than will otherwise generally be believed. According to evidence, which has gained credit in an unusual manner, Africa was circumnavigated at a period of very remote antiquity[a]; and although this circumstance had no influence upon the farther exploration of the southern part, it concurred with many favourable circumstances to promote that of the northern. Even in the earliest ages, the north-east coast of Africa was inhabited by civilized and commercial nations, who were natives of the soil like the Egyptians, or had migrated from other countries like the Carthaginians and Cyreneans. The extensive intercourse and multifarious connections which these nations had, as the farther prosecution of these inquiries will show, with the interior of this quarter of the globe, brought many accounts from thence to the countries on the sea-coast; and it is possible that Herodotus might collect during his residence in Egypt, a place where merchants from every quarter met together, his admirable accounts of these countries: accounts which not only confirm the latest discoveries, but which often go beyond,

[a] Herod. iv. 42.

and require farther discoveries to establish their credibility. But the vicissitudes to which Africa was afterwards exposed, must have assisted still more to extend the information respecting it. The dominion of the Ptolemeys in Egypt was in more than one way conducive to this end. As the commerce of this country increased, the circle of geographical knowledge became of course extended. The necessity of obtaining elephants for their wars, which could only be procured from the interior of Africa, occasioned more minute inquiries to be made respecting it. The more accurate information thus obtained, and the connections so formed, paved the way to those conquests, which under the third Ptolemey and Evergetes I. extended into the interior of Æthiopia. We need not, therefore, wonder at finding in the fragments which are left us of the works of the Alexandrine geographers, and especially of Agatharchides, so minute a description of those distant regions, which did not again become known till in the present age they were discovered by Bruce. The fall of Carthage also, much as that state had done in exploring Africa, tended rather to extend than to limit the information already obtained of its interior. As a Roman province, north Africa acquired a Roman character; and besides the wars carried on in the country of the Garamantes, which extended to the frontiers of Æthiopia, another circumstance aided the exploration of

Africa. From its immense deserts the savage animals must have been brought requisite for the great combats of wild beasts that took place, principally under the emperors: for in the same measure as the state declined did the popular pleasures of the Roman people increase. The Roman historians sufficiently show the almost incredible pitch to which these amusements were carried at that time, and if we reflect upon the distance that it would be necessary to penetrate into the interior of the country to obtain the great number of lions, elephants, and other beasts requisite for them[b], we shall scarcely be able to doubt but this custom was of great importance in extending the information respecting those countries, although we cannot say exactly how much was actually gained thereby.

In this way antiquity obtained its knowledge of Africa, which was still farther increased, in the middle ages, by the victories of the Arabs, and their settlement on its northern coasts; when all those places, Fez, Morocco, and others, now overrun by barbarians, were, under their dominion, the seats of science and

[b] Compare for example the catalogue of wild beasts of the emperor Philip, which must have been brought for the great procession and fight of wild beasts at the secular games (*ludi sæculares*) 1000 years from the building of Rome. Among others there were no less than ten giraffes (*camelopardi*). *Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. p. 58, *Bipont edition*. There is no foundation for the belief that these species of wild beasts were found at that time farther north; and we see, therefore, that the Roman hunters must have penetrated into the heart of Africa.

literature. From this source, and from the discoveries of the Europeans in the latter part of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth centuries, have been drawn up, to the latest times, our accounts respecting Africa, as well as the names on our more early maps. The entire change which then took place in the colonial system of Europe, and which caused it to turn its whole attention to the two Indies, was without doubt the principal reason why curiosity respecting this quarter of the globe, which no longer seemed interesting, except to furnish slaves for planting distant possessions, lay dormant; till in our own days, by a conflux of fortunate circumstances, the spirit of discovery has again been roused, and in twenty years done more towards dispelling the mysterious darkness which hangs over Africa, than had been done in the two preceeding centuries.

The physical features, however, of this quarter of the globe, notwithstanding all that has been done by ancient and modern research, have not been yet so well ascertained as to enable us to reduce them to any general division, as is done with regard to Asia. How little, indeed, do we know, even after the repeated journeys undertaken from the Cape of Good Hope, of the southern part, where nobody up to the present time has reached beyond the boundaries of the Sterile coast, and of that all our information is limited to a very

unsatisfactory knowledge of the shore [c]. Our present view therefore must be confined, as it would have been in ancient times, merely to the northern part, particularly as the object of these inquiries, limited to the period when that alone was known, requires no more.

The northern part of Africa is divided into three regions, which Herodotus has already very properly distinguished. He separates his Libya into the *inhabited*, situated on the Mediterranean, the *wild beast* territory, and the *desert* Libya [d]. This division, founded upon the natural features of the country, answers to the modern names of Barbary, Biledulgerid, and Sahara; but the fertile and inhabited lands beyond the desert, which we comprise under the names of Nigritia or Soudan, are not included therein. They were not, however, as the prosecution of this inquiry will show, altogether unknown to Herodotus. But the part which he knew of it he gave to Æthiopia, the general name for the interior of Africa as far as it was inhabited by black or dark coloured people.

[c] Light, however, on these parts now begins to dawn; if the accounts drawn from the papers of the deceased Bowdich, formed upon the reports given him by the Portuguese, respecting the inland countries between Congo and Mozambique, be authentic, then these countries form a table land without high mountains; with streams flowing in various directions, and a great lake, Maravi, said to extend northwards as far as Mombazo, and probably forming a chain of lakes similar to those of North America. *Nouvelles Annales de Voyages*, 1824.

[d] Herod, ii. cap. 32, and iv. 181.

The first region therefore comprises Mauritania, Numidia, the proper territory of Carthage (which the Romans afterwards called, in a stricter sense, Africa), Cyrenaica, and Marmarica; or the northern parts of the present kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, which are together comprised under the name of Barbary. Justly, indeed, does it merit the name of *habitable* Africa, which is preeminently given it by Herodotus, on account of the fertility which almost everywhere characterizes it. The coasts of Tripoli and the eastern part of Barca, have, however, even to the sea, large sandy districts, but even these were inhabited in ancient times by nomad hordes.

Beyond this region, under latitude 30, a chain of mountains runs across Africa, which in the western regions are comprised under the name of Atlas. Separate portions only of this chain are known up to the present time, although recent discoveries satisfactorily show that it extends in the same latitude across the whole continent of Africa, from the seashore to the boundaries of Egypt. Its loftiest and broadest part seems to be in the west, where it usually bears the name of Atlas, and where it occupies the whole of the southern provinces of Morocco and Algiers; as it approaches Tripoli, where it takes the name of Harudsta, it becomes narrower, parched, and sterile; after which it continues along the north boundary of the

desert, a chain of barren rocks, until it reaches Egypt[e]. In the western parts, where there is no lack of water, it is, more than in any other, the peculiar haunt of savage beasts; from which circumstance Herodotus, with great justice, calls it the *wild beast* country. By the Arabs it is called the Land of Dates[f], from the great quantity of that fruit, so important to Africa, which grows there. The whole region, therefore, comprises the southern side of Atlas, together with the territory lying near it, extending as far as the great desert, between the 30th and 26th degrees of north latitude. The later Greek and Roman geographers call it Gætulia; and it is known even by their poets, as the native haunt of savage beasts. This whole district forms at present the southern parts of the before-mentioned kingdoms; but in consequence of the weakness of those wretched governments, several independent states have been formed there, as Fezzan *(Phazania Regio, Ptol.)* which formerly belonged to Tripoli, Sigilmessa, and others: but the inhabitants of these regions are, and

[e] See HORNEMANN's *Journal of his Travels in Africa.* He is the first traveller, within my knowledge, who has opened to us the eastern half of this chain, and shown us that it extends athwart Africa. His accounts are confirmed and enlarged by the journey of Della Cella to Cyrenaica, as well as by that of general Minutoli. Although this chain, according to DELLA CELLA, *Viaggio da Tripoli alle frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto fatto nel,* 1817, p. 162, is sometimes broken eastward of the great Syrtis, yet it is not interrupted to any extent; and the same species of mountain, a sort of chalk stone, succeeds again soon after.

[f] *Beladal Jerid,* commonly pronounced *Biledulgerid.*

have been from the earliest times, the greatest merchants and travellers in the world. Of these people the great caravans are principally composed, which at one time penetrate athwart the deserts into the golden regions of the interior of Africa, and at others pass to Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

Their country, which is only fertile in some of those places where water is found, loses itself by degrees in a barren desert; which Herodotus calls the *sandy region*[g], and which is comprised by the Arabs under the general name of the Desert, *Sahara*. It extends, as Herodotus very accurately remarks, across Africa, from Egypt to the western coast, and stretches itself under the same degrees of latitude, through the regions of Asia, Arabia, the southern provinces of Persia, and penetrates considerably into northern India[h]. It is, however, an inaccurate, though a common notion, to suppose it forms one continuous sterile ocean of sand. It contains, on the contrary, not only several fruitful patches, but whole districts, which form steppes, over which nomad hordes wander with their cattle[i]. The breadth of this sandy region is not everywhere

[g] Herod. iv. 181. ὀφρύη ψάμμης, a *sandy tract*. He expressly adds, that the same extends from Thebes in Egypt to the Pillars of Hercules.

[h] Through Kerman (*Carmania*) Mecran (*Gedrosia*) as far as Moultan in North India.

[i] See especially Golberry, *Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique*, vol. i. cap. 6. Upon the physical nature of the soil of the desert see in particular Minutoli, *Journey to the Temple of Ammon*.

the same; its widest extent is in the western half of north Africa, between the present kingdom of Morocco and the Negro country; and its narrowest between the present states of Tripoli and Kassina, where also it is most frequently interrupted by watery districts. It becomes again much broader as it approaches Egypt. Everywhere, however, it presents sufficient terrors to prevent single travellers from venturing to cross it; and where it is broadest, the largest caravans cannot traverse it without the greatest danger. The western desert of Zuenziga is the most terrible of all; the deserts of Berdoa, Bilmah, and Barca, with some others, form parts of it, and finally lose themselves in the sandy deserts of Upper Egypt and Nubia.

Beyond these sandy solitudes happier regions are again found. A chain, or rather a ridge of mountains, which probably runs across Africa under 12° north latitude, becomes the common parent of many large and small rivers, and entirely changes the features of the country. The dark obscurity in which this ridge, called on our latest maps the Kong mountains, has always hitherto remained, has only recently been partially broken through. The streams which it pours forth, swoln by the violence of the tropic rains, which here, near the equator, have their longest duration, overflow like the Nile the neighbouring lands, and fertilize their soil. Instead of a sandy

desert, the eye now ranges over extensive plains covered with wood, and now over gently sloping hills, containing, often at the depth of but a few feet, the richest veins of gold. Of the succeeding immeasurable tracts we scarcely know a single spot, yet from what little information we have, southern Africa seems generally more fertile, and therefore more thickly inhabited, than the northern [k].

These preliminary observations on the physical state of Africa, upon which rests the foundation of the whole inland trade of this quarter of the world, are of the greatest importance to our subject, and many of the following remarks would be unintelligible without them. I purposely abstain from more minute detail, as I would not burthen the memory of my readers with names which might obscure the general outline.

One of the most extraordinary facts respecting all this part of Africa is without doubt the rarity of large rivers, which, however, may be accounted for from the course of the principal mountain chain. The northern chain runs so closely along the Mediterranean, that the rivers which flow from it, are properly mountain streams, which, after a short course, lose themselves in the sea. The extensive tracts which lie between this and the southern

[k] We as yet know nothing of great sandy deserts which may be contained in southern Africa; and the many and very considerable streams therein, render it improbable that any such are there to be found.

chain, have no slope either towards the north or south, sufficient to make the streams take either of these directions, but only towards the west and east, and even this, as it seems, only near the mountains. Under such circumstances those regions must necessarily remain without water, as no stream could form itself a channel through them. These impediments do not cease till we come to Egypt, where the mountain chain ends, or alters its course; and the Nile is the only large stream which continues to flow from south to north in the northern part of Africa. Whether, however, this river has yet been traced to its source, and whether it flows in the same direction, from south to north, at its rise, still remains, notwithstanding the recent discoveries and the boast of a celebrated traveller that he had penetrated to its head, undetermined. We know that this stream is formed in the interior of Africa by the conflux of several rivers, but it seems not to be settled which of these is properly the Nile. The river which Bruce takes to be it, rises between the 10° and 11° north latitude, and bears the name of *Abavi;* but the more westerly branch, which is called by him the White river (*Bahr el Abiad*, the *Astapus* of the ancients) has its source much deeper in the interior of Africa; and seems, from the mass of waters which it rolls along, to have more right to be considered as the principal stream. The direction of its

course remains still uncertain and unexplored; even the latest adventurer, M. Caillaud, who saw its conjunction with the Nile, could not trace the stream upwards; the problem, therefore, still remains unsolved, whether the Nile comes from the south or west. A tradition, which, from the earliest times to the present has obtained in Africa, speaks of a branch of the Nile flowing in the latter direction. It is clearly and precisely given by the father of history: "The Nile," says Herodotus, "flows out of Libya, dividing it into two parts; and, as I conjecture (assuming unknown things from what is known), runs in a direction parallel to the Danube[l]." The Arabian geographers name this river the Nile of the Negroes, but make it to run in a contrary direction, from east to west; giving it a common source out of the same lake with the Egyptian Nile[m]; while, according to the statements of the latest travellers in Africa, the assertion of Herodotus is still the generally prevailing belief in the interior of this quarter of the world[n]. This question, however, is not likely to remain long unsettled in an age like the present, in which so much zeal is testified to clear up every doubt that remains respecting the distant regions of the globe; and since a

[l] Herod. ii. 33.

[m] As Edrisi and Abulfeda. See Hartmann, *Geogr. Africæ Edrisiana*, p. 23.

[n] Hornemann, p. 138, 141.

British traveller has already penetrated along the western bank of the Nile as far as Darfur[o], without finding any river, we may with safety conclude, that it is only above this point that such a westerly principal arm can now be sought for, if after all it really should exist.

In the mean time, with this question another stands intimately connected, of which, in modern times, we have a more accurate solution: namely, upon the course of the stream, which generally goes under the name of the Niger. Modern geographers have often confounded this stream with the Senegal, which flowing from east to west, falls into the ocean under 16° north latitude; and is reckoned among the principal streams of Africa. By the ancient geographers on the contrary, the Senegal, which by Ptolemey and others is called the Daradus, never bears the name of the Niger. Pliny, as well as Ptolemey, seems rather to have understood by this latter, a river in the interior of Africa, not flowing from east to west, but from west to east[p]. This, however, is easily reconciled by the information given above respecting a branch of the Nile, which flows from the west of Africa, and which caused the Niger to be confounded with the Nile, and is by Pliny expressly declared to be

[o] H. Browne, whose particular object it was to trace the course of the White river to its source; but who was detained prisoner in Darfur.

[p] See Ptolemey, *Africa*, tab. iv. The principal authority is Pliny, V. cap. 9.

the same river with the Astapus, or White river[q]. Modern geography, in consequence of the exploration of the Joliba, discovered by Mungo Park, tends to confirm the tradition respecting the existence of a river in the interior of Africa, flowing from west to east; a tradition known to Herodotus[r], and upon which he founded the conjecture that this river might be the Nile[s]. This tradition, however, offers no confirmation of the conjecture that the Joliba has any connection with the Nile; but there are, on the contrary, important reasons which render it improbable; for not only the length of the course which we must in that case assign the Joliba, and which would make it divide nearly all Africa in its widest part, but also the course of the mountain chain, as far as we are acquainted with it, and the direction of the slope depending upon it, seem to contradict it[t]. The latest discoveries of the British, of which however we have only anticipated information[u], seem to place it beyond a doubt that the Joliba falls into the great lake of Tzaad in the

[q] Pliny, l. c.

[r] Herod. ii. 32. See the section upon the Land Trade of the Carthaginians.

[s] Herod. ii. 33.

[t] The arguments for the opposite opinion have already been explained by Rennel, in his additions to Hornemann's Travels, p. 191.

[u] The accounts of Denham, Clapperton, and Oudeny, in the *Quarterly Review*, Dec. 1823, before the publication of their travels. The improbable hypothesis, that the Joliba turns to the west, and runs into the Congo river, and which even occasioned an unsuccessful journey of discovery to that river, falls therefore of itself to the ground.

empire of Bornou. Whether, however, it flows again out of it on the eastern side of this lake, or whether the floods, during the rainy season, cause a junction with the White river, is still unknown.

This want of navigable rivers, together with the large sandy deserts, must have impeded the intercourse of the African nations, and on that account must have thrown great, almost insurmountable, difficulties in the way of their civilization. The inhabitants of the interior of this quarter of the globe have lived, from the earliest times, almost always cut off from the rest of the world. Protected by their sandy deserts, they were scarcely accessible to the extra toil of friendly caravans, never to the army of a foreign conqueror. Great and sudden moral or political revolutions seem to have happened as rarely here as violent physical changes. Nature, nevertheless, has provided in a remarkable manner, that they should never remain long total strangers to the rest of the world; she has not only given them fruitful inland countries, but stored even the immense sandy deserts themselves with treasures, which have either excited the avarice, or been required by the necessities of mankind. The central countries of Africa were celebrated among the northern nations, even in the earliest ages, for the abundance of gold which they contained; but probably another present, bestowed by nature on the desert, did

more towards keeping up an intercourse between them. In its interior were found, sometimes in hills, sometimes in lakes, the great magazines of salt, which supply the most distant tribes with this indispensable mineral, of which the negro countries are totally destitute, and which obliges them to undertake in large companies such dangerous journeys through the sandy regions. Besides this, unfortunately for humanity, even in that early period the slave trade existed (which, as far back as history can trace, seems always to have been a native of that soil) and many other, though less important, branches of commerce. Thus we see that several thousand years ago, as well as at present, there existed an intercourse with the nations of central Africa, which became the principal cause of its civilization, and furnished the remainder of the world with the means of information respecting this quarter of the globe. The accounts which are come down to us from antiquity concerning it are scanty and defective, but on that very account are the more attractive to the historical inquirer; and the research which will be made as we proceed[x] will perhaps, therefore, be more secure of the attention, and have more claim to the indulgence of the reader.

But if the interior of Africa was subject to fewer changes, her coasts, especially the

[x] See the section on the Land Trade of the Carthaginians, in which will be found farther explanation and proofs of what we have here said.

northern, were more exposed to foreign migrations. Here arose the republic of Carthage, one of the first and most remarkable of the ancient world; here the state of Cyrenaica, had it enjoyed more domestic tranquillity, might have become the rival of Carthage. Here also the only native people, who on the shores of the Nile attained so high and remarkable a degree of civilization, attract our attention; while the Æthiopians in the obscure distance, and enveloped in the thickest mist of antiquity, glimmer, almost invisible, on the confines of the earth.

In the hands of these nations rested the commerce of inner Africa, and besides them not a single large state, that we know of, has been formed within it, as the later Numidian empire is not here to be considered. But although my inquiries may be limited to these, I shall nevertheless find occasion to introduce what I may have to say respecting the other inhabitants of this quarter of the globe. Cyrene did not become sufficiently large, and too little information is left concerning it to give materials for a separate division. The accounts preserved respecting it, will find a convenient place in the third part of this work, which relates to the Greeks and their colonies in general.



CARTHAGINIANS.

mation is given us respecting these wars, especially concerning the struggle with Rome, yet it becomes gradually less valuable as we ascend into more remote antiquity. This later period, however, is not the one from which we can hope to form a proper opinion of Carthage. From the time when the contest between these powerful republics broke out, Carthage no longer remained what she had been. Her whole existence from that period, even though fortune sometimes shone favourably upon her arms, was no more than a struggle for self-preservation; all other enterprises, as well as her whole previous system of policy, were sacrificed for that object. The heroic family of the Barcas, indeed, did for some time support the declining commonwealth; but, having been once shaken to its foundation, it could never afterwards recover its former splendour and stability.

Herodotus is the only great historian who has descended to us from the flourishing period of this state—shortly before, and during the Persian empire—and here deserves particular notice. From the general plan of his work we might have expected that he would have given us a digression as well upon Carthage, an opportunity for which more than once occurs[b], as upon the other states and nations which he describes. Why he has not done so, whether

[b] As for example in viii, 165.

from accident or design, or because he had not visited Carthage himself, or what other reason he might have, it is impossible to determine. Of how much might he not have informed us? He, by whom no opportunity was neglected of collecting information respecting the Carthaginians! Notwithstanding this, many of his accounts, as will be seen as we proceed, are indirectly of the highest importance to this inquiry. Polybius saw Carthage only in its decline; he is accurate and impartial as an historian, although a friend of the Romans, and even intimate with the younger Scipio. He frequently gives us a deep insight into the internal affairs of the Carthaginian republic; and some genuine documents which he has preserved us, together with the voyage of Hanno[c], afford us some compensation, although but little, for the loss of its native writers. Diodorus Siculus[d] is principally valuable because he comprises the period immediately before the Roman wars, namely, that of the wars with Syracuse; and for having preserved many interesting particulars. Livy, on the contrary, can only be referred

[c] This, as well as the documents here mentioned, will be found collected and translated at the end of this volume.

[d] Diodorus has drawn his accounts of Carthage from two Greek writers, Ephorus and Timæus. The doubtful nature of the first is shown by his exaggerated statements respecting the number of the Carthaginian armies and fleets; which by Timæus, who is very accurate where his passions do not come into play, are always reduced to half, or one third. See examples in Diodorus i, p. 584, and other places.

to for events relating to the wars; he did not give himself the trouble to study the internal state of Carthage, and clothes, moreover, the picture which he draws, in a Roman dress. Appian, in his book of the Roman wars, is in this respect more copious; although in the art of handling his materials he is far inferior to Livy. Among a host of other writers, Justin[e], although otherwise scanty and not to be relied upon, must be mentioned as the only one to whom we are indebted for a continuous view of the earlier fortunes of the republic and her first advance, respecting which most of the others are totally silent.—It is not our intention to write a history of Carthage, and if it were, it is not her later period that would occupy our chief attention. Our consideration should be given to that brilliant period when this state was in full activity, and enjoyed the free exercise of its power. In what splendour must she then have appeared? Upon what foundation in reality rested her internal constitution, and how was it made to totter? What was the circumference and condition of her home territory? What were her relations with her provinces and colonies? What with the independent nations of inner Africa? How

[e] The accounts of Justin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, whom he only abridged, concerning Carthage, are mostly drawn from Theopompus, and perhaps from Timæus, as I have shown in my treatise, *de Fontibus et auctoritate Justini*. See *Commentat. Soc. Scient. Goetting.* vol. xv, p. 225, etc.

far did her intercourse extend in this direction, and what were the limits of her navigation? How were her armies and fleets organized? What were the principles of her policy, and how were they acted upon? In a word, what was Carthage and what did she wish to be? None of these questions seem to me yet satisfactorily answered, although Carthage holds a prominent place in the history of the world [f].

[f] The best information we have at present respecting Carthage, is to be found in Spanish writers. I pass by all others to mention the very valuable work of Campomanes, *Antiguedad Maritima de la Republica de Cartago*. The first part contains the history of the great enlargement of the Carthaginian navigation and maritime power, and is certainly very valuable as it is confined to one definite object. The second comprises the Periplus of Hanno, with a too prolix commentary, mostly founded on etymologies. Hendrich, *de Republica Carthaginiensium*, is a mere compilation, partly tricked up with out of the way hypotheses. Since the first appearance of these inquiries, they have been made use of by most of the writers among us upon ancient history—would that I could add, corrected and enlarged. I mention, however, with pleasure, the instructive treatise of professor Kluge of Breslaw, Aristoteles, *de Politia Carthaginiensium*; to which I shall again refer in the prosecution of this work.

CARTHAGINIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Formation and situation of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa.

CARTHAGE was one of the many colonies which Tyre, like other Phœnician states, established on the northern coast of Africa[a]. It was not the only one, nor the first; Utica was certainly more ancient[b], as were probably some others. All this coast, reckoning from the lesser Syrtis westward, was covered with colonies of the Phœnicians, as may be seen in my inquiries respecting them; and that they even extended their settlements beyond the Pillars of Hercules, on the shores of the great ocean, is shown hereafter from several concur-

[a] According to the usual chronology, Carthage was built B. C. 878, and destroyed B. C. 146. It stood therefore altogether 732 years. Its history is best divided into three periods. The first extends from the foundation of the city to the commencement of the wars against Syracuse; from 877—480. It comprises the period of the rise and growth of the state; its extension in Africa, in Sardinia, and other smaller islands in the Mediterranean. It was likewise the period of the commercial wars with the Massilians and Etrurians. The second extends from 480—265; from the rise of the Syracusan to the commencement of the Roman wars. It comprises the period of its greatest power and extent. The third, from 265—146, includes the history of its wars with Rome, the period of its declining power, and its overthrow. See my *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 73, etc. of the English translation.

[b] Proofs of this may be found in BOCHART, *Canaan*, p. 473, etc.

rent facts. In this they were influenced by various circumstances. To some parts they were allured by the fertility of the soil, and to others by the traffic which they carried on with the nomad inhabitants; but besides these, their principle motive, the same which drew them to Sicily, seems to have been the keeping open a communication with southern Spain, and to maintain their power there, which, on account of its rich mines, became, as it were, their Mexico and Peru.

Most of these settlements were established for purposes of trade, and seem originally to have been but small; they were indeed at their first formation, rather staples for their goods than places of traffic. Many of them, however, taking advantage of their happy situation, soon got that trade into their own hands, which they should have ensured to the mother state. Among the ancients, with whom, excepting the Romans, the bonds which connected the colonies with the parent states were slight, this was a common occurrence; modern history seems likewise to confirm the fact, that trading colonies, if they improve, are the most uncertain of all possessions.

Besides these, there was another species of colonies in the ancient world, most numerous among the Greeks, but not unknown to the Phœnicians. This owed its origin to civil broils or dissensions. The discontented party emigrated or was expelled, and sought settle-

ments for themselves in foreign lands. The Greeks in such cases went to Asia Minor or Lower Italy; the Phœnicians to Africa[c].

According to all accounts, Carthage belonged to the latter species, and this circumstance deserves here to be remarked, because through it the connection between her and the mother state becomes determined. She was from the beginning an independent state. Tyre and Carthage, without claiming dominion or acknowledging subjection, observed towards one another all those duties of mutual regard, which, according to the opinions both of the Phœnicians and Greeks, mother states and colonies owe to each other. Tyre constantly refused the use of her fleet to Cambyses when he wished to attack Carthage[d]; and Carthage granted a place of refuge to the inhabitants and treasures of Tyre when that city was besieged by Alexander[e].

History has not preserved to us the means by which Carthage at once raised itself so much above the other Phœnician colonies. It certainly might have been effected by a conflux of favourable circumstances; but the excellent situation of the city, which at the same time afforded it every convenience for navigation, and protected it from foreign attack,

[c] We are, for example, quite certain that it was under such circumstances that the city of *Leptis Magna*, in the territory of Syrtis, was founded by a colony from Sidon. SALLUST. *Jug.* c. 78.

[d] HEROD. iii, 17, 19.

[e] DIODORUS, ii, p. 190.

was certainly one of the principal. Carthage was built in the interior of a large bay, formed by the projection of cape Bon[f] in the east, and cape Zebid[g] in the west, now called the gulf of Tunis. At the bottom of this bay is a peninsula, which was formerly connected with the mainland by an isthmus about three miles broad. Upon this peninsula was Carthage erected, about half way between Utica and Tunis, both which might have been seen from the walls of the city, as the former was only nine and the latter only six miles distant. A very narrow neck of land, projecting westward into the sea, formed a double harbour for the vessels of commerce and war, and also separated the lake behind from the Mediterranean. On the side towards the sea it was only protected by a single wall; while upon the isthmus, on the contrary, it was guarded from foreign attack by the citadel *Byrsa*, and a threefold wall, thirty yards high and thirty feet broad[h].

[f] The ancient *promontorium Hermæum*.

[g] The ancient *promontorium Apollinis*.

[h] The local situation of ancient Carthage deserves a more minute inquiry than it would be here proper to give it. The principal source is APPIAN, i, 435, etc. The picture of CAMPOMANES, i, *fin*, is mostly drawn from fancy. The accounts of SHAW upon the great change of the coast must form the principal groundwork; the charts thereto annexed are undoubtedly the best; but the situation of the haven is not given, and it is precisely in that wherein lies the obscurity. It appears certain, however, from Appian, that the neck of land stretching into the sea, only half a stadia broad, formed one side of the harbour; from which it becomes plain how the Carthaginians, at the time Scipio blockaded their harbour, found so easily a passage out. Another obscurity rests upon that part of the city called Magalia, or Magara. According to Appian, viii, 117, it seems to have been a sort

Carthage observed from the beginning the natural policy, which her original weakness must have prescribed to a single city, built on the border of a large and populous quarter of the world. She endeavoured to maintain a good understanding with the original nations that lived in her neighbourhood. The Tyrian colonists came not as conquerors, but bought the land for their city and its territory for a yearly ground-rent or tribute, which is often mentioned in their early history; and which, as Justin tells us, although it seems very improbable, continued till the time of Darius Hystaspes[i].

They forsook, however, this policy as soon as they found it convenient, that is to say, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough. Wars with the natives naturally followed[k], in which, though the Carthaginians obtained the superiority, yet they only obtained subjects who were eager at every opportunity to shake off their yoke. It is necessary that we should now inquire a little farther into the state of these nations. This inquiry will lead to the most important results, respecting the whole internal state and real power of the Carthaginians. Herodotus, Scylax, and Polybius, will

of suburb, full of gardens, occupying the most southern part of this neck of land. It is, however, difficult from the description of Appian to obtain a clear notion of the whole. We have hitherto hoped in vain for the publication of the recent researches made by earl Camillo Borgia.

[i] JUSTIN, xix, 2. [k] JUSTIN, l. c.

be the authorities for the observations we shall make.

Whenever Polybius[1] speaks of the African nations, who fought in the Carthaginian armies, he always most carefully distinguishes the subjects of the Carthaginians from the free people who served as mercenaries. The former he calls Libyans (Λίβυες), the latter, whenever they are Africans, Numidians or nomads, but this name being given them entirely on account of their manner of living, is not properly the name of the people; the different tribes or races, comprised under this general term, are, therefore, likewise mentioned by him under their particular names. The Libyans, on the contrary, he never distinguishes more precisely; it stands always as the general name for the African inhabitants of the Carthaginian territory. It seems probable that about the time of Polybius, the earlier divisions of the tribes and distinctions of these people were lost, because, as we shall presently see, they had not only been obliged to change their manner of living, but had partly become mixed with the Carthaginians.

One general character distinguishes these Libyans from the other inhabitants of northern Africa. They had settled places of abode, and appear everywhere as followers of husbandry;

[1] A principal authority on this subject, vol. i, p. 161, 167, 168, *Schweighæuser's edition*.

while all the other tribes, both on the eastern and western sides of the Carthaginian territory, seem on the contrary, even in the most flourishing period of that state, to have been nomads. The tribute imposed by Carthage on the Libyans was for the most part paid in grain[m], and it was principally with the produce of their industry, that those republicans were enabled to raise and maintain the numerous armies with which they made their foreign conquests.

If Carthage wished to establish an empire in Africa, it was necessary to obtain as subjects, nations who had fixed dwellings. Dominion over merely nomad hordes is little better than none; it cannot, at least, become the permanent foundation of a state. The Carthaginians, therefore, observed a very natural policy in endeavouring to civilize the nomad hordes, wherever they could bring them under their yoke. But whoever reflects upon the difficulties to be surmounted before nomads can be brought to that state, and made to change their manner of living, will be able satisfactorily to account for the frequent wars, in which the Carthaginians were engaged with the old inhabitants, from that circumstance alone; as well as the implacable hatred of the latter towards their rulers, even supposing there were no acts of oppression on the side of their new masters.

[m] Polybius, vol. i, p. 177.

At the time Herodotus wrote, that is to say in the flourishing era of the Carthaginian state, no native people were to be found in North Africa, beyond the boundaries of the Carthaginian territory, who tilled their lands. All the native tribes between Egypt and the Lesser Syrtis, and as far as the lake Tritonis[n], then

[n] We have in ancient geography a lake, an island, and a river Triton; the latter said to communicate with the lake. See GELLA, *Geog. Ant.* ii, p. 860. The situation of the lake has been differently stated; we may, therefore, doubt whether the name always signifies the same. It is generally placed near the Lesser Syrtis; others are said, according to PLINY, v, 4, to place it between the two Syrtes; and SOLINUS, cap. 27, even places it near the Greater Syrtis, towards the *Aræ Philænorum*. Solinus, however, has merely misunderstood Pliny; and the expression *between the two Syrtes*, is at least so undefined, that it does not contradict the general opinion. The uncertainty of these statements probably arises in part from the Argonautic poets having made their heroes visit these territories, and created a locality from their own imagination, many of which were afterwards introduced into the works on geography. From HEROD. iv, 179, it is clear that he took the Triton lake to be one and the same as the Lesser Syrtis, or as being closely connected with it. This opinion also, as RENNEL, *Geog. of Herod.* p. 662, very pointedly remarks, is confirmed by SCYLAX, p. 49, *ed. Hudson*, who places the island Triton in the Syrtis, and makes mention of no lake Triton. The passage in Scylax is certainly very corrupt, and instead of the words ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Σύρτιδι ἐνίστηκεν ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καλουμένη, καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων, it must be ἡ νῆσός Τρίτωνος καὶ λίμνη, καὶ π. τρ. or, if it should be preferred, ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καλουμένη, καὶ λίμνη Τρίτωνος, καὶ π. τρ. This is clear from the following: ἡ δὲ λίμνη αὕτη which λίμνη, namely, cannot be the Syrtis itself, because we read that it had only a small opening (στόμα μικρὸν); but it is the lake which, according to SHAW, i, p. 274, is now called *Shibkah el Lowdeath*. Nevertheless, in the times of Scylax, this lake communicated with the Syrtis, though only by a small entrance, in the midst of which an island was to be found. This, as he adds, however, was only uncovered by the sea in time of ebb, and in flood time remained under water. The sand bank, therefore, has thus been raised up, and cut off the communication between the lake and the sea. The difficulty, however, still remains, where the river Triton is to be sought for. Although we, with Shaw, thereby would understand the little river El Hammah, yet this will not suit the statement of Herodotus, who makes it a river of considerable magnitude, iv, 178. But the narrative of Herodotus,

connected with it, were, according to the express testimony of that writer, nomad hordes[o]. With these we shall shortly have an opportunity of becoming more particularly acquainted. The father of history has so minutely enumerated and so accurately described them, that the credibility of the accounts he has left us concerning them cannot be doubted. "But immediately on the other side of the river Triton," continues he, that is to say on the western bank, "we first find nations who cultivate their lands[p]." He gives us the names of three of these tribes; the first is the Maxyes[q], and from the slender account which Herodotus gives of them, we clearly see, that they had not been long accustomed to their new manner of life. They were a branch of the Ausenses, the remaining part of whom, as he before remarks, were still nomads. "The Maxyes, on the contrary, are tillers of the earth, and accustomed to live in houses." They still, however, retained their former customs. "They suffer the hair on the right side of their heads to grow, but shave the left; they

cap. 179, is drawn without doubt from some Argonautic poet. May not then the size of the river, if not its very existence, be merely the creation of some such poet's imagination? The settlement of the Triton lake is important for the geography of the Carthaginian dominions, as it is usually considered as their boundary towards the south.

[o] HEROD. iv, 186. [p] Ibid. iv, 191.

[q] These Maxyes are probably the same people as those mentioned by JUSTIN, xviii, 6, and called Maxytani; and whose king is said to have been Hiarbas, who desired Dido for his wife.

paint their bodies with red lead." Both these are still nomad customs. That of painting the body is expressly mentioned by Herodotus[r], as existing among other nomads; and the manner of cutting the hair was the mark of distinction by which the clans were distinguished from one another; according to the fashion in which it was done, or the side of the head which was cropped. Herodotus always particularly mentions the mode in which the neighbouring clans wore their hair; and remains of this custom seem still to be preserved by their successors, the present Tuariks[s].

Next to these we find the Zaueces: "whose women used to drive their chariots of war[t]." They were, therefore, a people who bred horses; and, perhaps, by the custom just mentioned, gave occasion to the relations respecting the Amazonians in these regions. The use of war-chariots, which the Carthaginians adopted in their early times, was probably taken from them, as will be shown in another place.

These two tribes are mentioned and described by Herodotus alone, who immediately after quotes the Carthaginians as his authority. They were undoubtedly the extreme tribes of the Carthaginian territory towards the south. Herodotus also describes their country as full

[r] HEROD. l. c.
[t] HEROD. iv, 193.
[s] HORNEMANN, p. 151.

of woods, overrun with wild beasts, lions, elephants, boars[u], etc. We may, therefore, conclude that agriculture was still in its infancy among them; no evidence, however, is wanting of the fact, that the culture of the soil improved as it approached Carthage.

A third tribe, larger by far, and more remarkable, was known to Polybius and others, as well as to Herodotus. This was the tribe of the Gyzantes or Byzantes[x], which was subdivided into many branches. "In their country the bees collect a vast quantity of honey, and still more is said to be made by confectioners. All these paint themselves like the others with ruddle, and eat apes, which are found in great numbers on their mountains[y]." Respecting the quantity of honey in these territories, accurate accounts are given by DELLA CELLA. The clefts in the mountains are full of swarms of wild bees, whose honey not only serves for nourishment, but forms also an important article of commerce[z]. The manufactured honey, mentioned by Herodotus, is that prepared from the

[u] HEROD. iv, 191. The confirmation of these accounts of Herodotus may be seen in TULLY's *Narrative of a Residence in Tripoli*, 1820. The woods on the road from Tunis to Tripoli are so infested by savage beasts, that even numerous caravans cannot pass them without great danger. As the darkness comes on, the woods resound with the howling of the jackall, and the dreadful roar of the lion seeking his prey; even large watch fires will scarcely keep them off.

[x] The latter name is given them by STEPH. *de Urbibus* in Βύζαντες, in the notes to which will be found collected the evidence of the other writers who speak of them.

[y] HEROD. iv, 194. [z] DELLA CELLA, *Viaggio*, p. 154.

juice of palms, the method of preparing which is described by SHAW[a]. In these same regions it is still in most frequent use. The mountains are branches of the Atlas, marked on our modern maps, but without proper names being given them. The number of apes was there so great, that, according to Diodorus[b], three places derived from them the name of ape-towns (Pithecussæ), in which the apes lived with the inhabitants in their houses.

Herodotus places his Gyzantes to the west of the Zaueces, and consequently towards the Numidian frontiers. A proof that he only obtained information respecting the most distant and least cultivated tribes of this nation. From other writers, it is clear that it not only extended itself much farther, but also that it occupied the finest and most fertile part of the Carthaginian territory, which therefore bore the by-name of Byzazium[c]. It lay in the neighbourhood of the Lesser Syrtis, and stretched to the Mediterranean. According to Polybius, it was 2000 stadia, or 227 miles in circumference[d]. I shall frequently have occasion to speak of this region, which was the granary of Carthage.

With regard to the other Libyan tribes, I do not find their names mentioned; the loss, however, is but of little consequence. There are

[a] SHAW, p. 291.
[b] DIODORUS, ii, p. 449.
[c] See STEPH. l. c.
[d] POLYB. iii, p. 384.

many proofs which show positively that there was a continuation of them, and that they were extremely numerous. They always formed a part of the Carthaginian army; and in the unfortunate war against the mercenary troops, or rather in the civil war which Carthage carried on immediately after the termination of the first war with Rome, 70,000 of them were under arms at one time [e], and numbers equally considerable occur upon other occasions.

These tribes seem to have preserved themselves the purest, and to have intermingled the least of any of those which inhabited the southern and western part of the Carthaginian territory. They did not even understand the Carthaginian tongue, but seem to have spoken many different languages among themselves [f]. Those dwelling to the east, on the contrary, along the coast from the capital to Byzazium, and even in that province itself, had intermixed in a greater degree with the Carthaginians, and from them had descended a race which is often mentioned in history under the name of the Liby-Phœnicians. They were generally, but not always, expressly distinguished from the genuine Libyans [g]; and occupied the richest and most fruitful part of the country.

[e] Polyb. i, p. 181. [f] Ibid. i, 168.

[g] Polyb. i, p. 458. Another important passage is found in Diodorus, ii, p. 447. He expressly distinguishes four species of inhabitants in the Carthaginian territory in Africa. The Phœnicians, or the inhabitants of Carthage itself; the Liby-Phœnicians, under which he comprises, rather im-

In order to keep these tribes in subjection, Carthage made use of the same means that Rome did towards the small nations of Italy; that is, she settled colonies of her own citizens in their territory. This answered the double purpose of maintaining their authority and improving the connection and intermixture with the original inhabitants, which, as we see, produced the Liby-Phœnician race. Scarcely any state in the ancient world better understood, or prosecuted on a larger scale, the colonial system than Carthage. A separate division of our work will be devoted to her foreign settlements; and we shall only here treat of those within her own territory.

The foreign colonies of Carthage were always chosen for purposes of commerce; this is even shown by their situation, as they all, without exception, lay near the sea; but those within her own territory were, at least for the most part, inland, and fixed upon for the promotion of agriculture. Even those on the seacoast had so limited a trade, that they could scarcely rely on that alone for subsistence. But as the exports of the Carthaginians consisted partly in the productions of their soil, commerce and agriculture mutually assisted each other. The policy of the Carthaginians led them to consider the formation of these settlements as the

properly, the inhabitants of the cities on the coast; the Libyans, or the ancient native tribes; and the nomads.

surest method of preserving the good will of the people; as it prevented the too great increase of the lower orders in the capital, and placed the poorer citizens, by the distribution of lands, in better circumstances. "In this way," says Aristotle[h], "Carthage preserves the love of her people. She sends out continually colonies composed of her citizens into the districts around her, and by that means makes them men of property. It is a proof, he adds, of a mild and intelligent government, that it assists the poor by accustoming them to labour."

A sound and equitable policy certainly! But it presupposes a people still sufficiently uncorrupted to have a taste for agriculture; and in the later period of Carthaginian history we hear no more of the formation of such settlements[i]. So in Rome, where the same means were adopted, they could only be employed till the time of the Gracchi; the later military colonies, under Sylla and others, were altogether of a different nature; and corresponded so little with the intention of their founders, that

[h] Aristot. *Op.* ii, p. 252; *Polit.* ii, 11; and vi, 5, p. 317. I cannot understand this latter passage in the way that Mr. Kluge would, as referring to individuals of the nation, who obtained government offices in the neighbouring cities to enrich themselves; for Aristotle says of them in general, that the poverty of the great multitude might be relieved: δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν ἄπορον ᾖ; whereby trade and agriculture would be served.

[i] "Nothing, says Cicero, *de Republ.* ii, 4, more weakened Carthage than the preference of its citizens for trade and navigation, for which they neglected agriculture and arms."

they confirm in a remarkable degree the observation just now made[k].

The whole Carthaginian territory seems to have been full of these settlements; they appear, however, to have abounded most on the eastern side, from the gulf and lands belonging to the town of Carthage down to the Lesser Syrtis, in the seat of the Liby-Phœnicians and Gyzantes, or the district of Emporia.

That these places were kept in strict dependence upon Carthage needs scarcely to be remarked. The tribute which they paid was a principal source of the Carthaginian revenue; and the wars, by which the Carthaginian dominions were extended, were chiefly carried on at their expense[l]. Under the name of *towns* (αἱ πόλεις) they are always mentioned in connection with the other colonies on the north coast of Africa, as a main support of the Carthaginian power; but sometimes are distinguished from them by the name of *neighbouring towns*, (αἱ περιοικίδες[m]). In other respects they seem to have been rather open towns than walled cities[n]: the Carthaginians had no fortified places except along the seacoast. There is no doubt but the jealousy of the capital prevented their being fortified; but it also left them the

[k] SALLUST. *Catil.* cap. 11, 16. [l] POLYB. i, 177.

[m] ARISTOT. *Polit.* vi, 5.

[n] How numerous these must have been, we may gather, among other things, from Agathocles being able to conquer nearly two hundred of them. DIODORUS, ii, p. 418. A string of names is given by SCYLAX, p. 48.

certain prey of every conqueror, or adventurer, who had courage to invade the territory of Carthage.

From these towns, colonised by the Carthaginians, we must carefully distinguish the original Phœnician colonies, which were established by Tyre and other Phœnician states; some indeed, previous to Carthage, in the territory which afterwards belonged to that city. It is impossible to trace the origin of all of these with accuracy and certainty, we know, however, that of Utica and Leptis [o], and according to the accounts of Sallust [p], most of the large towns on the Carthaginian coast, Adrumetum, Hippo, and the smaller Leptis, were of genuine Phœnician origin.

These Phœnician colonies were from the beginning, or soon became, free towns; every one of which, with the territory belonging to it, formed a small republic. As Carthage became powerful they in some degree certainly became dependent, but were never so absolutely under the government of the Carthaginians as the above-mentioned colonised towns. They seem to have been rather allies than subjects; as even the mother country, Tyre itself, does not appear ever to have had unlimited authority over the other towns. So much at least is certain with respect to the principal among them: Utica for example, which according to the

[o] Steph. *de Urb.* Ιτυκη.

[p] Sallust. *Jug.* cap. 19.

unanimous voice of antiquity was the most considerable town next to Carthage, and which, after her ruin, became the capital of the Roman province of Africa.

I found this opinion upon the following circumstances, namely, that Utica in two genuine documents, made indeed at very different times, is expressly mentioned as a state by itself, as well as Carthage. The first of these is the commercial treaty between Carthage and Rome, made in the year B. C. 348. In this it is said, at the very beginning, "upon these conditions shall be peace between Rome and her allies, and between Carthage, Utica, Tyre, and their allies [p]." Utica is here evidently placed upon an equality with Carthage, as even its allies are recited. It seems, therefore, to have had the right of contracting alliances; notwithstanding this treaty was entered into in the most flourishing period of the Carthaginian state.

The Tyre here mentioned with Utica, could scarcely be the Phœnician Tyre. Its situation renders it improbable that it should have entered into a treaty with Rome, it was, besides, at this time under the dominion of Persia; but the principal fact is, that nothing occurs throughout the whole treaty that could relate to that city, or be of any importance to it. I feel, therefore, inclined to believe that

[p] POLYB. i, 437, etc.

instead of Tyre, some other name should be read, perhaps Tunis, or Tysdrus, if indeed Polybius himself did not refer it to Tyre; or might it not have been one of the large seaport towns on the Carthaginian territory, of which we at present know nothing farther, but which at that time was really so called[r]? It was no unusual thing among the Phœnicians for colonies to be named after their parent town. Of this New Carthage in Spain and Tyre on the Persian gulf afford us examples. If, however, the Phœnician Tyre should be understood, I can only account for it from the custom which prevailed among the Carthaginians of comprising the parent town in their treaties. The second document on which I ground my opinion belongs to the last period of Carthage[s]—to the second Punic war. It is the treaty which Hannibal entered into with Philip of Macedon. As in the former case, Utica, wherever its name is mentioned, stands upon an equal footing with Carthage. The alliance with the Macedonian king is contracted by Carthage and Utica. If Utica then in both these periods were connected with Carthage merely by alliance, surely no proof will be required that it did in earlier times maintain its rights.

[r] Many of the great Carthaginian cities, even in name, are quite forgotten; and what know we, beyond the names, of the great cities Toka, Maschala, Hecatompylos, enumerated by Diodorus? See DIODOR. ii, p. 449.

[s] POLYB. ii, p. 589, etc.

What I have here proved respecting Utica, is more than probable respecting the other Phœnician cities in the Carthaginian territory. The cities in alliance and having equal laws with Carthage, are not only distinguished in the documents which we have just cited, but also by the historians[t], from those in subjection; and what could these be if not the Phœnician cities? They were originally, as Phœnician colonies, equally free and independent as Carthage itself. It follows, therefore, from the nature of these circumstances, that they could not at first be treated as subjects, but only as allies. Surely we have many examples in history in which the preponderance of the superior power transforms allies into subjects; and when we see that Utica alone is mentioned as an independent city, we must from that circumstance conclude, that the others did not stand altogether in the same rank with her; though they certainly did not belong to so low a grade as the various places of the interior. The words of the treaties show this, and they are confirmed by history. They appear throughout as the most faithful adherents of Carthage. They usually remain so when the Carthaginian subjects revolt; they are fortified, they besiege, and in their turns are besieged[u]. All these are sure proofs that

[t] Diodorus, ii, p. 413.

[u] Proofs of this will be found in all the wars which the Carthaginians carried on in their own territory.

they stood so closely connected with Carthage as to have the same friends and enemies, but by no means that they were subject to her despotic sway.

It was a general principle of Carthaginian policy, to improve as much as possible the cultivation of their lands; and to accustom the native tribes under their subjection to do the same. There was, however, a considerable portion of their territory, which, from its physical nature, was, either for the most part or altogether, unfit for tillage. Such was the case in the country of the Syrtes, or the north coast of Africa between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis, which forms the present proper kingdom of Tripoli, a narrow strip of land about one hundred geographical miles in length. While the territory of Carthage already described, consisted of fertile lands watered by the Bagradas and other rivers; that of the Syrtes comprised only a sandy plain[x], stretching from the interior of Africa to the sea, and only watered in a few places by small streams[y]. In districts

[x] This remarkable difference in the soil, which begins even at lake Triton, is truly and accurately remarked by HERODOTUS, iv, 191. "As far as the Triton river the soil is level and sandy, but from thence towards the west it becomes mountainous and woody."

[y] For a more accurate description of the country on the seacoast, we are indebted to DELLA CELLA, *Viaggio*, p. 22, etc. From Tripoli to Lebeda (the ancient Leptis), the fruitful strip along the coast is scarcely half a mile broad; then follow, in the neighbourhood of the river Cinyps, green meadows, which however are again soon lost in the sandy deserts surrounding the gulf of Sidra, or the Great Syrtis. DELLA CELLA, *Viaggio*, p. 60, and TULLY, *Residence in Tripoli*, p. 213. [The work of DELLA CELLA has

of this kind a Carthaginian or Phœnician colony was settled; such, for example, as the Greater Leptis, Œa, and some few others. But in general the soil was unfit for agriculture, and still remains so[a], and therefore the native tribes remained nomads even in the most flourishing times of Carthage. Of these we have a very accurate account in the works of Herodotus, and it will be of importance for the farther prosecution of our design, to give here more definite and clear information respecting them[a]. There dwelt still around the Triton lake, the Ausenses and Machlyes: the latter cut the hair from the back of their head, as the former do from the front, in order to mark their race[b]. A branch of the Ausenses, that is the Maxyes before mentioned, had taken to cultivate the soil. Near to these were the Lotophagi, or Lotus eaters, and behind them lived the Gindanes. The name of the former, who had spread in remote antiquity far over the earth, became celebrated by the songs of Homer, and which afterwards

been translated into English by Aufrere, 8vo. 1822. All however that is interesting in the two writers above mentioned, as well as in the important narrative of BEECHEY, *Expedition to Explore the Coast of Africa*, 1828, 4to. and the accounts of the most recent travellers, will be found collected and condensed in *The Modern Traveller, Africa*, 1829, 3 vols. 12mo. A compilation which has deservedly received much praise. TRANS.]

[a] DAPPER, *Description of Africa*, p. 295.

[a] The accounts of SCYLAX, p. 48, should be compared with those of Herodotus, with which they agree very well, though not borrowed from them. This description of the coast, alone, shows the high antiquity of this writer.

[b] HEROD. iv, cap. 180.

gave rise to so many fables among the Greek poets, is the name of one or more tribes who subsisted principally on the fruit of the lotus-tree; for corn in those countries could not be cultivated. The ancients have handed down such minute descriptions respecting this tree (which must not be confounded with the lotus plant of Egypt), that it is impossible to mistake it[c]. It is the *Rhamnus Lotus*, LINN. Its fruit, even at the present time, is the common food, not only in these districts but also in the centre of Africa; and now, as well as formerly, a sort of wine or meath is made from it, but which will only keep for a few days[d]. The site of the Lotophagi may be very accurately determined from Herodotus. They must have occupied just the middle point of the coast of Tripoli, from about the island Meninx, which they likewise possessed, as far as the ancient *Leptis Magna*. They had not certainly, spread themselves farther west, as we shall immediately see. The determination of this point is necessary, as it will be of great importance on another occasion.

Next to them towards the east, follow the Macæ[e]. They cropped both sides of the head,

[c] POLYB. iii, p. 384, and STRABO, p. 1191.

[d] DAPPER, p. 296. In Tripoli is a market-place where tree-fruit, similar to beans, is brought in large quantities. It comes chiefly from the island Jirba, the ancient Meninx. See TULLY, *Residence in Tripoli*, p. 11, where the fruit is accurately described. [See also *The Modern Traveller, Africa*, vol. i, p. 43, and 254.]

[e] HEROD. iv, 175, 176.

leaving only a tuft on the top. The Cinyps[f], (Zenifes, and Magro), flows through their country, and served as a fixed boundary both for their country and that of the Lotophagi. According to Scylax, they only attended their flocks on the seacoast during the winter; in summer, as soon as it became dry, they retired with them into the mountains.

Finally, the extreme nation towards the east are the Nasamones; for those adjoining are beyond the country of the Syrtes, and lie in the territory of Cyrene and Barca[g]. The Nasamones were a very extensive race, and lived chiefly by tending their flocks. They sent a caravan yearly to Augila for dates, one of the principal articles of food in Africa. Between them and the Macæ another nation had formerly dwelt: these were the Psylli, who were buried in the sands during an excursion, or caravan-journey, into the interior of Libya. "The south wind," says Herodotus, "having dried up their water-springs, they came to the resolution of advancing towards the south; but when they came to the sand, the south wind

[f] Dapper, p. 295. The city founded near it of the same name was, even in the time of Scylax, l. c. already a waste. [The modern name of the Cinyps is, according to Beechey, *Expedition to Explore the coast of Africa*, 4to. 1828, and Arrowsmith, *Eton Comparative Atlas*, 1828, *Khâhan*. Butler calls it *Quaham* in the index to his *Ancient Atlas*. These works have been published since the last German edition of Heeren. *Trans.*]

[g] Namely the *Auschisæ* and *Cabales* around the Greater Syrtis; the *Asbystæ* beyond Cyrene; the *Giligammæ* and the *Adyrmachidæ* dwelling on the frontiers of Egypt. All nomad tribes. Herod. iv, 168—171.

buried them[h]." How closely this narrative agrees with the place, we again learn from the latest discoveries. "The south wind," says Della Cella, "drives the sand out of the great desert like moving clouds, which bury whole caravans[i]." These are the nations in the eastern part of the Carthaginian dominions, from the Lesser Syrtis to the frontiers of Cyrene. It is improbable that they should all have vanished from the earth; and it seems they have not. They appear merely to have been pressed back into the mountains by the Bedouin Arabs, from whom they are distinguished by descent and manners, although intermixed with them by marriage[k]. Here they still live upon the lotus and honey; their women decorate their legs with rings, and are offered to strangers[l]. Their skin, which they paint with ruddle, is even still so thickly crusted over that their true colour cannot be discerned. They were all, according to the distinct testimony of Herodotus, nomads, and from the nature of their soil were obliged to remain so. The relation in which they stood with the Carthaginians is nowhere expressly defined; there is no doubt, however, of their being in subjection to them, as their country was always considered as part of

[h] Herod. iv, 173.

[i] Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 93. Their expedition was probably intended for Phazania in the country of the Garamantes.

[k] Della Cella, p. 154.

[l] Della Cella, p. 109: cf. Herod. iv, 168.

the Carthaginian dominions. What tribute they were obliged to pay, we indeed know not, but supposing it to have been of ever so little importance to so great a commercial state, still the possession of this country, and a dominion over these nations, must have been a matter of the highest consideration.

For, in the first place, they served them as a bulwark against the power of Cyrene. The growth of this Grecian colony was regarded by Carthage with a jealous eye, and she carried on many wars against it. Who could tell that it would not become a second Carthage? And in that case, it could not be indifferent who was in possession of the desert by which the states were divided; nor whom the hordes obeyed who wandered over it.

But these nations were of still more importance to Carthage on another account. By them were formed the caravans which crossed the Libyan desert, and penetrated to the banks of the Niger, and journeyed eastward as far as Upper Egypt and Æthiopia. By their means, as we shall see, Carthage maintained an intercourse with the interior of Africa, upon which depended a considerable portion of her trade. In a following chapter I intend to give farther proofs of this. History, indeed, only gives us a few unconnected views of these secrets of the Carthaginian policy in trade; but fortunately they reveal so much that there can be no doubt respecting the principal facts.

I have still to mention certain other towns, which under the name of *Urbes Metagonitæ*, are sometimes met with as Carthaginian towns in Africa[m]. Historians have not accurately defined their situation, but they certainly must be sought for on the coast of Numidia, westward of the proper territory of Carthage. A promontory is still found there called *Metagonium*[n]; a district of precisely the same name; and even a people *Metagonii*[o]. Pliny, on this account, takes the name Metagonitis to be synonymous with Numidia[p]. I understand, therefore, by these towns, all those settlements established by the Carthaginians on the coasts of Mauritania and Numidia, and which seem in a manner to have formed a regular chain from their frontier to the Pillars of Hercules. Should it still remain doubtful whether all those towns were really comprised under that name, an authority has fortunately been preserved, which leaves the truth of the fact beyond dispute. We find in Scylax a specification of all the towns and harbours which lie along the shore, and on the small islands opposite, as far as the Pillars of Hercules. After the enumeration of them[q] he

[m] Polyb. i, p. 458.

[n] The present *Cabo di Ferro* not far from Bon, in the province of Constantine.

[o] See Cellarii *Geog. Ant.* vol. ii, 929, 936.

[p] Pliny, v, 2.

[q] Scylax, p. 51. *ed. Huds.* Unfortunately their names are very much corrupted. According to the corrections of Vossius, they were called Collops, Pithecusæ, Tipasa, Canucchis, Jol, Chalka, Siga, Mes, Acris, be-

expressly adds, "all the towns and marts from the Hesperides (on the Larger Syrtis) to the Pillars of Hercules, belong entirely to the Carthaginians." It is, therefore, certain that a chain of Carthaginian towns stretched as far as that point. These stations were of great importance to Carthage, both on account of the trade which she carried on with the inland nomad tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood, and because they enabled her to keep open a communication by land with Spain, as well for her merchants as for her armies. Hannibal took care to have them all properly garrisoned before he set out for Italy[r]. In other respects they seem not to have been of great importance, as none of them ever attained any celebrity.

From what we have now said, it will be easier to answer a question otherwise very difficult: namely, what were the boundaries of the Carthaginian empire in Africa? We mean, of course, in its most flourishing state. On the south and north its limits are determined, but there is still some difficulty in settling them towards the west. Nature herself has traced the southern frontiers: the Carthaginian dominion reached as far as the land was fertile; that is to say, to the Triton lake, which is besides expressly mentioned as the boundary[s]. The

sides the small islands of Acium, Psamathus, etc. whose situation cannot be determined.

[r] POLYB. i, 458. [s] STRABO, p. 1189.

barren districts began, indeed, on this side the lake, but towns, nevertheless, were found as far as the Triton lake, which were afterwards destroyed in the Roman wars[t].

With still more accuracy are the eastern frontiers defined. As in this part they joined another state, Cyrene, it became absolutely necessary that the boundary should be determined; and long struggles and wars at length produced a treaty, in which the advantage was on the side of the Carthaginians, as it secured them the districts between the Syrtes. According to a tradition, it is said that the brothers Philæni purchased this advantage by the sacrifice of their lives[u]; and, indeed the offering was not too great, if we remember, from what has been said before, how important these regions must have been, although barren, to Carthage. The last place in the Carthaginian dominions was *Turris Euprantus*, on the eastern shore of the Greater Syrtis, from whence a considerable contraband trade was carried on with Cyrene[x]. Near to this place stood the landmarks, which were named *Aræ Philænorum*, in honour of the brothers. They were nothing more than mere marks of the boundaries, and were no longer in existence in the time of

[t] Strabo, l. c.

[u] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. lxxix; Valer. Max. v, 6, 4. According to Sallust, the war to which this gave rise was very fierce both by sea and land, and happened during the flourishing period of both powers.

[x] Strabo, p. 1193.

Strabo[y]. In the accounts come down to us respecting these landmarks, all writers agree[z].

It is a task of much difficulty to determine the western boundaries. In this quarter nomad hordes alone wandered about, and it will on that account alone be immediately seen that any certain limits were both impossible and unnecessary.

According to the writers most worthy of credit, the Carthaginian dominions reached as far as the *Gaditanian*[a] gulf. But it is evident that this must not be understood to the letter. They had established cities, harbours, and forts along the coast, and in the small islands opposite, for reasons which I have already in part given. The permission of the nomad hordes, who dwelt in these districts, was without doubt obtained for this purpose; and in this way the Carthaginians came, by degrees, to be masters of the coast: a matter to them of the utmost importance, but of very little consequence to the native tribes. Carthage seems especially to have desired to secure this point, when the conquest of Spain first suggested itself to her. A communication with that province would thus be kept open by land, should any untoward

[y] There still exist, however, pillars of sandstone, with inscriptions almost obliterated, which may be taken for them; DELLA CELLA, *Viaggio*, p. 77. Scylax, in his time, knew of but one; *οἱ τοῦ φιλαίνου βωμοί*, p. 47. So also POLYBIUS, i, p. 469. The account of Sallust is evidently a corrupted tradition.

[z] POLYB. i, p. 469, and besides him Scylax in the passage above quoted.

[a] POLYB, l. c.

event interrupt it by sea. But we discover nowhere a trace, nor even so much as a hint, of her arrogating to herself an authority over the interior of Numidia and Mauritania. "The Carthaginians," says Strabo[b], "rule over Libya, wherever it is not occupied by mere nomad hordes." It is well known, also, that during the Roman wars the native princes of the neighbouring country of Numidia appear as perfectly independent. Indeed, how could Carthage have maintained a dominion over them? The Carthaginians certainly had formed an alliance with these princes, which they endeavoured to strengthen, and knit more closely, by giving them ladies of high rank in marriage[c]. Some of them might perhaps at times have been tributary, but these exceptions cannot be taken for a rule.

The most probable boundary to the west of the proper Carthaginian territory, where it stretched farther inland, was, therefore, in short, the point where the tribes who cultivated the soil ceased, and the nomad hordes began. Although it is not likely that any line was drawn marking the exact boundary, yet we shall commit no great error by placing it under 8° east longitude. Beyond that was Hippo Regius, the residence of the Numidian

[b] Strabo, p. 1189.

[c] In this manner Hamilcar Barca gained the nomad prince, Narvan, by the promise of his daughter. Polyb. i, p. 193. The well-known example of Sophinisba is shown then not to be the only one.

kings, which never belonged to Carthage; an accurate definition is from the nature of things impossible.

According to this survey, the fertile provinces of Carthage, occupied by people who tilled the soil, extended from Cape Bon in a direct line to the most western angle of the Triton lake, a distance of nearly 200 geographical miles. Its breadth in most parts was 150 miles[d]. The northern part is usually called *Zeugitana*, a name of uncertain derivation. It comprised, besides the capital, the most important seaports, as Hippo Zarytus, Utica, Tunis, Clypea, and others. The interior of the country was everywhere filled with Carthaginian colonies and native tribes, who had intermingled with the Phœnicians. Vacca, Bulla, Sicca, and Zama, are the best known of these settlements. The soil was fertile throughout, but more particularly so on the banks of the Bagradas. The southern part was called *Byzazium*. It derived this name from the Byzantes, the principal race, which from the earliest times had been settled in it, but had gradually intermixed with the Carthaginian colonies. Its coast was also covered with a succession of flourishing seaports, of which Adrumetum, the Leptis Minor, Tysdrus, and Tacape were the principal.

[d] Strabo, p. 1189, gives 2500 stadia (280 miles), but expressly remarks, at the same time, that the authorities differ.

In the more extensive sense of the word, another district was included in Byzazium, but which was very often separated from it, and requires here to be particularly noticed, on account of its great importance to Carthage. I mean the country around the Lesser Syrtis and the Triton lake, which is generally mentioned under the name of *Emporia*[e]. All writers agree in praising it for its astonishing fertility. "This region," says Scylax[f], "which is occupied by Libyans, is most magnificent and fertile, it abounds in tall fine cattle; and its inhabitants are most beautiful and wealthy." It derived its name from the many flourishing towns it contained[g], and which, as the name implies, were places of trade. From all the passages in Polybius concerning them, we learn the great esteem in which they were held by the Carthaginians. The principal cause of this might perhaps be, that they formed, especially the capital, the chief places from which they drew their troops[h]. Their situation, moreover, renders it probable that they were the great staple towns for the trade with the interior of Africa, and it might be from this that they derived their name.

[e] The territory of Emporia is expressly distinguished by Polybius (i, p. 436), from Byzazium, or Byssatus. In other places writers are not always very exact respecting it.

[f] Scylax, p. 49.

[g] By Strabo, p. 1191, an *ἐμπορεῖον* is chiefly named as important. Also by Appian, *Punic.* cap. 72, it is called the territory, *ἡ περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον γῆ*.

[h] This is clear from Polyb. ii, p. 204. Compare i, p. 436, and iv, p. 547.

In addition to these cultivated countries, the abode of men who tilled the earth, Carthage possessed the *Regio Syrtica*, or the seacoast between the two Syrtes, extending from Tacape to the monument of the *Philæni;* a tract of about 400 miles, inhabited by nomads, as the sandy nature of the soil rendered fruitless the labour of the husbandman. Great Leptis, a colony from Sidon, occasioned by civil disturbances[1], and Œa, were the only considerable towns in the whole district. The reasons why this country, notwithstanding, was of so much consequence to Carthage have been already given. From all that has now been said, I think I may draw the following important conclusions respecting the Carthaginian state.

First: That the Carthaginian territory in Africa was never so completely united that all its parts stood in an equal and entire dependence upon the capital. The succession of old Phœnician colonies along the coast was only, at least for some time, a number of confederate states, of which Carthage was certainly the head, but by no means the absolute mistress. Those nations were the only real subjects of Carthage who were accustomed to agriculture, to which manner of living they had been brought by the Carthaginians themselves, for the nomad tribes between the two Syrtes were only so far in subjection to Carthage as to pay tribute.

[1] SALLUST, *Jug.* cap. 78.

Secondly: The internal weakness of Carthage, so frequently remarked by every writer, and usually ascribed to her great military establishments, and the employment of mercenaries, may be far more naturally explained by this very circumstance. The policy of the Carthaginians did not extend so far as to make friends of the nations they conquered. The inborn hatred which the nomad hordes had previously felt, was continued, and nourished, and increased, by the oppression of their rulers. The approach of every enemy was considered by them as a signal of revolt; how otherwise could Agathocles, and after him Regulus, have dared to invade Africa with only 15,000 men, without deserving to be reproached for their temerity? and which they certainly would have justly merited under any other circumstances.

CHAPTER II.

Foreign possessions of Carthage.

I. PROVINCES.

CARTHAGE inherited from her parent state the spirit of commerce; but the desire of conquest sprung, at first, from her situation, and was nourished by success.

This will not appear strange to any one who understands the genius of powerful free states. There is no example of any great republic, either of ancient or modern times, that did not become a conquering state, provided its geographical situation did not prevent it. Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, Venice and Genoa, are proofs of this fact. The latest and largest republics of Europe began and ended with conquest; and North America will arrive at the same point, whenever space is wanting in which she may peaceably extend herself.

The states of Phœnicia Proper were republics, although they had what were called kings. But there are some states, which, from their situation, are obliged to renounce all projects of conquest, or, at least, to confine them within very narrow bounds; and such were

these. Their small territory was surrounded by powerful empires, against whom they could not always defend even their own independence.

The case with Carthage was entirely different. Built on the edge of a large quarter of the globe, whose warlike nomads afforded, for pay, numerous armies; and almost surrounded by countries without a master, she could conquer, and soon found it her interest so to do. For the first time, therefore, history here shows us a free and powerful commercial state, whose greatness was founded upon foreign possessions acquired by force of arms.

From the conquests made by such a commercial state, certain circumstances necessarily arose, which obliged them to pursue a different line of policy from that followed by the Persians and Babylonians, who took countries by assault, and subdued and plundered one nation after another, for no other reason but because it was yet a nation to plunder and subdue. It must by no means be inferred from this that the Carthaginians, throughout their whole course, pursued one fixed formal plan of aggrandizement, but only that experience had pointed out to them certain maxims upon which they acted whenever it was possible, and which they only left for some cogent reason. This line of conduct was planted in the spirit of the aristocratic government, where such maxims so easily become hereditary in the ruling families, of which history shows us such

evident proofs as to leave no doubt of the fact.

Even the extent and nature of their possessions on the continent prove clearly enough, that a willing moderation, flowing from this principle, was connected with their system of aggrandization, which prevented them from occupying more than they intended to retain. Did there ever exist a more powerful state which had such large and tempting prospects of increasing its dominion, and which, nevertheless, limited its extent so willingly? Behind her proper territory, Carthage saw spreading itself the immeasurable Africa, in which no other state was yet formed, and which in a manner seemed waiting for a ruler. Notwithstanding this, her proper dominions here were, and remained, confined within a moderate compass. Western Europe offered her the same temptation. But even the rich country of Spain, known to them so minutely, although they had several settlements therein, could not incite them to a regular conquest of it, until it offered them, in time of need, when their political power had lost its balance, a compensation for Sicily, during the last struggle with Rome.

But their foreign possessions chiefly show, that they followed one maxim equally simple and natural. A maritime and commercial nation would soon, of itself become acquainted with the fact, that it could have no better or more secure possessions than islands.

That large continents, although upon pressing occasions they may quietly, at least for a time, shut their ports, or suffer a blockade from without, cannot be maintained by a fleet: of this North America furnishes us with a sufficient example in modern times. The policy of the Carthaginians must soon have discovered this, and they limited, therefore, even in the most flourishing period of the republic, their foreign possessions almost exclusively to islands[a]. These served both to shelter their squadrons, and to conceal their designs; here no troublesome rivals were to be feared, and if any showed themselves they were easily restrained; here commercial activity, unperceived, could exert itself; here no loss was to be apprehended in an age when there were no great maritime powers as rivals.

These were all established maxims which the Carthaginians undeviatingly followed in their conquests, and the western half of the Mediterranean, sprinkled with large and small islands, opened to them a field which seemed just suited to their situation and power. History has preserved to us but few accounts respecting the occasion of their first conquests. The private settlements which the Carthaginians

[a] The republic of the united states of Holland has followed, in modern times, a similar policy with regard to its East India possessions, and this example confirms the truth of the remark. With how much more ease, and with still greater advantage, has Holland maintained herself in India, than either France or England; the East Indian empire of the latter threatens to fall in the end under its own weight.

at first established here, gave them, probably, opportunities of interfering in the broils of the native tribes, and the system of conquest arose out of the system of colonization. This, however, does not appear to have been the case with Sicily. We know of no regular colonies planted there by the Carthaginians. They seem at once to have entered upon its conquest; and history has not left us altogether in the dark respecting *when* and *by whom* this design was first prosecuted. It took place just at the time that the Persians, under Cyrus and his immediate successors, started forth as conquerors in Asia, namely, in the latter part of the sixth and in the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era[b]. The Carthaginians were at that time indebted for the foundation of their power to one single family, namely, to that of Mago, which gave them a succession of heroes similar to that of the Barcas at a later period. Mago himself, the founder, was the first who introduced military discipline and created their foreign power[c].

[b] Between B. C. 550—450. JUSTIN, xix, 1, gives us authority for all the following statements. The chronology here is derived from the fact, that Darius, before his expedition against the Greeks, sent to Hamilcar for assistance. Therefore about the year 490. But his brother and father had had the command before him, as had his sons after him. We cannot therefore, upon the whole, err in this statement. Attempts at conquest in Sicily and Sardinia had indeed been made by Malcus, or Malchus, before the time of Mago; but that in Sardinia ended unfortunately, and sent its commander into exile. JUSTIN, xviii, 7. It must therefore have happened between 600 and 550; and was the first noticed in history.

[c] JUSTIN, l, c. *Primus omnium, ordinata disciplina militari, imperium Pœnorum condidit.*

He was succeeded by his two sons, Asdrubal and Hamilcar, who made Sardinia the scene of their conquests. Here Asdrubal fell, after having been eleven times commander; his native town honoured him with a public mourning. His brother, upon whom he bestowed the command before his death, met with a similar fate in Sicily, as after being defeated in battle by Gelon of Syracuse, he is said to have killed himself[d]. Each of them left three sons, those of Hamilcar were Himilco, who succeeded to his father's command in Sicily; Hanno, to whom, perhaps, we are indebted for the Periplus; and Gisco. Those of Asdrubal were Hannibal, Asdrubal, and Sappho. All were placed at the head of the armies of the republic[e], and extended its dominion both without and within Africa, by their victories over the Mauritanians and Numidians. They are also said to have been the first who relieved Carthage from paying tribute to the Libyans. This is all the information we have respecting these conquests. The following more minute survey of their provinces will serve to prove the remarks already made.

I. SARDINIA.

The first and most important province of the Carthaginians was Sardinia, the largest of all

[d] In the year B. C. 480. HEROD. vii, 167.

[e] *Per hos res Carthaginiensium ea tempestate gerebantur.* JUSTIN, l. c.

the islands of which they became completely masters. Its inhabitants, with the exception of a few insignificant tribes, who retreated into their inaccessible mountains, were all brought under the subjection of the Carthaginians, who founded Calaris *(Cagliari)*, which still remains the capital[f], and Sulchi, both on the south side of the island. On every occasion, and in almost all the genuine documents which have descended to us respecting Carthage, Sardinia appears as their first and most valuable province; and in these it is expressly mentioned immediately after their territory in Africa, with which it is placed on an equal footing. The first two treaties with Rome afford sufficient proof of this. By the earlier of these, it is true, the Romans were permitted to trade in Sardinia, as well as in Libya, that is to say, in the Carthaginian territory in Africa, yet only under great restrictions. In the second their ships were forbidden, in express terms, to enter the ports of either[g].

It seems remarkable that this large island, about 162 miles in length, and from between 60 and 70 in breadth, should have been, both in ancient and more modern times, the least known of any country in Europe. It is only lately that a better description has been obtained of it[h], and that only increases our desire

[f] PAUSAN. x, p. 838.
[g] POLYB. vol. i, p. 435, 439.
[h] AZUNI, *Histoire geographique politique et naturelle de la Sardaigne.* T. i, ii, 1802.

for farther information; previous to this, Otaheite and Owhyhee were better known to us than Sardinia; and the knowledge of the ancients respecting it was equally scanty.

The great value in which the Carthaginians held this island, and were necessarily obliged to hold it, may be accounted for from its geographical situation; for a nation whose existence depended upon maintaining a dominion over the western Mediterranean, and which never completely subdued Sicily, could not do otherwise than make Sardinia their principal station. There is no doubt but it was likewise the emporium for their trade with the west of Europe, with which they kept up a constant intercourse, and indeed no situation was better adapted for that purpose.

Sardinia, however, was not of less importance to the Carthaginians on its own account; for in affording them supplies of corn, it was only surpassed by their African dominions. It is thus spoken of upon every occasion in their history[i]: even its rudest and most savage native tribes, who dwelt in the mountains, were not entirely ignorant of agriculture. The mountainous districts of the island, it is true, were not much adapted to husbandry; but its fertile valleys and plains were not at all inferior to those of Sicily[k]. But no one who con-

[i] Diodorus, i, p. 274. Polyb. i, 205.
[k] Strabo, p. 344, etc.

siders how numerous her armies were, and also the little attention paid to agriculture at that period in the west of Europe and in Africa[l], will question the great importance of this fruitful country to Carthage.

But besides this, there is another circumstance which, it is probable, greatly increased the value of Sardinia in the eyes of the Carthaginians. Although it admits not of proof, there are many reasons for supposing that mines were worked there, which yielded a rich produce of precious stones and metals. That countries containing one or both of these had a peculiar charm both for the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is already well known. Gold is now in vain sought for in Sardinia, though that island is still rich in silver[m]. Among the precious stones the sardel holds the first rank:

[l] We may quote Sardinia as a proof of the manner in which the Carthaginians were wont to treat their provinces. When the Romans took it from the Carthaginians it was in a flourishing condition. POLYB. i, p. 196. The latter do not appear certainly to have been the first who introduced agriculture into this island, although they certainly increased it very much among its ancient inhabitants. The various races of these Strabo has minutely specified. One part of them dwelt in caves in the most inaccessible mountains; and these it was that the Carthaginians could never completely subjugate. STRABO, p. 344, and DIODORUS, i, p. 342. Sardinia, however, in general, was from the earliest times occupied by foreign settlers, who are most satisfactorily enumerated by PAUSANIAS, x, p. 838. A particular account, but completely at variance with all these remarks, is found in the treatise *de Mirabilibus*, cap. 105, ascribed to Aristotle. "The Carthaginians," it is there said, "had rooted up all the fruit-trees in Sardinia, and interdicted agriculture to the inhabitants upon pain of death." Whence this tale could come I know not. The interdiction, perhaps, only referred to the unconquerable cave-dwellers, that they might starve them out.

[m] AZUNI, ii, p. 341, where the several silver mines are enumerated. Might not some traces be even still found there of ancient works?

it is not unfrequently found in the island[n], though whether it derives its name from that, or, according to Pliny[o], from the city of Sardes in Lydia, is uncertain. The high value put upon this stone by the ancients, and its importance in commerce, may be known from the frequent use made of it by lapidaries. I am induced to believe that the Carthaginians obtained treasures of this kind from the island, by the pains which they took to keep all strangers at a distance from it. That they did this has already been shown in the above mentioned treaties with Rome. Strabo also states[p], that strangers were forbidden, upon pain of death by drowning, to sail to Sardinia, or the Pillars of Hercules. By the Pillars of Hercules we must here understand the south-western part of Spain, where their richest mines were situated. Might not then the severe prohibition respecting Sardinia arise from the same cause?

Carthage kept a garrison in Sardinia, formed almost entirely of mercenaries[q]. Civil and military authority seem here, as well as in the other foreign possessions of Carthage, to have been separated, and not bestowed on one person[r]; a regulation which, if it really ex-

[n] AZUNI, ii, p. 351.

[o] PLINY, xxxvii, 7. That the Carthaginians carried on a considerable trade in precious stones I shall prove in another place.

[p] STRABO, p. 1154. [q] POLYB. i, p. 195.

[r] POLYB. i, p. 195, where the *Boetharch* (the governor in times of peace), is distinguished from the *Strategos*.

isted, gave it a decided preference over Rome in the manner of governing its foreign provinces.

The conquest of Sardinia cost the Carthaginians many wars, as has already been remarked. The Etrurians are said to have possessed it before them; but I find no trace of their having carried on a war with them respecting it. In the first treaty concluded between Carthage and Rome, B. C. 509, namely in the period of Darius Hystaspes, it appears to have been completely a Carthaginian province. According to the above-mentioned accounts of Justin, however, from which indeed only a general chronology can be deduced, they were still at this period busily engaged in its conquest; but the glaring contradiction instantly vanishes if we remember, that frequent revolts occasioned frequent wars. Sardinia remained a Carthaginian province till the year B. C. 237, a little beyond the close of the first war with Rome.

II. CORSICA.

The name of Corsica but seldom occurs in Carthaginian history, and it is doubtful whether it was ever entirely brought under the dominion of that republic. From a very early date it appears to have been occupied by the Etrurians, and a part of it seems to have continued subject to their authority. On one occasion, however, when their jealousy had been roused,

weak authority. Certain it is, at all events, that they never gained much from this island, nor could it ever have been of so much importance to them as Sardinia[u]. Its soil was rugged and sterile, and the inhabitants savage; Carthaginian policy was, besides, too profound to place much value on a possession which would have been more expensive than useful. Their only care was to prevent rivals from settling there, who might disturb their commerce or interrupt their navigation.

III. SICILY.

The largest of the islands I have reserved till now, because it was never entirely subdued by Carthage. Had that republic once effected this object, which she was more than once on the point of doing, her dominion would probably have been established for centuries, and Rome would have been unable to shake it.

A glance at the map, with some knowledge of the fertility and internal riches of Sicily, will be sufficient to justify that policy of Carthage, whose principal and almost only aim was the possession of this island; an object she endeavoured to effect with all that firmness and constancy which so peculiarly belongs to aristocratical governments. How much the dominion of the Mediterranean, the provision-

[u] See STRABO, p. 342; and DIODORUS, i, p. 340. Diodorus says, that the Etrurians *at some time* had been masters of the island.

ing of her armies, and the trade in oil and wine, depended upon the execution of this project, it were needless to prove. The island besides is of so moderate extent, that she would have had no difficulty in maintaining it.

Sicily was also the point where the interest of the Carthaginians and Greeks dashed. Both of them here possessed cities; but those of the former were soon eclipsed by the latter. The Greek cities were free independent states, and that, combined with the extraordinary fruitfulness of the soil, and the unobstructed sale of their merchandize, enabled them to raise themselves to a considerable pitch of opulence and power. Those of Carthage, on the contrary, were founded with all that economy, and watched with all that jealousy, which is peculiar to suspicious, niggardly merchants. The best among them would not bear a comparison with Agrigentum, much less with Syracuse.

Carthage, so far as we know, founded no new colonies in Sicily. The Phœnicians Proper had already established some settlements there, which, as the power of the Carthaginians extended itself, fell into their hands[x]. The latter

[x] Thucyd. lib. vi, cap. 2. The most important passage in Thucydides respecting the first establishment of Carthaginian dominion in Sicily is obscure; because the expression φοινικες may as well be referred to the Proper Phœnicians as to the Carthaginians. The historian intends, in my opinion, to embrace both by it. He enumerates the nations which had established themselves in Sicily, and as the Phœnicians and Carthaginians were descended from the same stock, he only reckons them as one. The

here also, as they did on many other occasions, trod in the footsteps of their parent state, whose dominion and navigation in the western part of the Mediterranean fell in the same ratio as theirs increased. The settlements of the Phœnicians spread at first over all the coasts of the island, since they possessed the promontories and the islets lying around. But as the Greeks continually extended their possessions, the others on the contrary, in the same degree, were always forced to retire; and so became at last limited to merely the western part of the island, where Motya, Panormus, and Soloes, for a long time remained their principal settlements. They likewise often found allies in the neighbouring people Elymi.

Carthage seems at first only to have obtained possession of those cities from whence lay, as Thucydides remarks, the shortest passage to Carthage. By this she appears to have gained a strong footing in the island, and was fully satisfied, during the increasing power of the Greeks, if she could maintain her ground.

But frequent contentions with the native inhabitants soon led to wars; and these to plans of conquest, which even from the beginning seem to have been forwarded by the continual dissension of the Greek cities in Sicily among themselves, some of whom invited the

beginning of the passage, therefore, refers to the Phœnicians, as the first colonists. The close, on the contrary, refers to the Carthaginians, as it states, that they possessed the cities which lay nearest to Carthage.

Carthaginians to their assistance. We are told by some writers that they also formed alliances with the Persians: first with Darius, during his war with the Greeks; and again with Xerxes during his celebrated expedition against their country[y]. At all events it was at this exact point of time that Hamilcar, son of Mago, endeavoured to advance the Carthaginian arms in Sicily. He was unsuccessful: for on the very same day that the might of Asia was overthrown at Salamis by the Athenians and their allies, was the united power of Africa destroyed by their western countrymen in Sicily; and Hamilcar himself fell a sacrifice to his enterprise[z]. The Greeks after this enjoyed for some time a state of tranquillity on the island, as the Carthaginians could only maintain themselves in their old possessions on its western side.

This tranquillity, however, was not of long duration, and after the second change of the republican government of Syracuse into a monarchy, under Dionysius I. (B. C. 410), the Carthaginians made a new attempt to conquer Sicily. The contention of two Greek cities, one of whom, Segesta, called in their assistance against Selinus, gave them a new opportunity of commencing hostilities. The rapid progress, however, which they at first made, extended their views; it proved also the cause of a revo-

[y] Herod. vii, 165. [z] In the year B. C. 480.

lution in Syracuse, which gave despotic power to Dionysius. He and his successors, especially Agathocles, pursued, as often as circumstances would permit, the same uniform design of converting Sicily, and Lower Italy if possible, into one kingdom. Had this design been carried into execution, Carthage would not only have lost her possessions on the island, but would probably have anticipated her approaching overthrow: if not a sudden, a lingering decay must have brought her to her end. To say nothing of the dominion of the Mediterranean, which she would thereby have lost, as well as have been cut off from Sardinia, and have had her sea trade ruined, how would she have been able to withstand the united efforts of the Greek states of Sicily and Magna Græcia? Circumstances would naturally have given rise to bloody wars. It could not, therefore, have been either a false or ambitious policy in Carthage, to make every exertion in her power to frustrate their intention.

The history of these wars does not properly belong to this place. They continued, with little interruption, till the commencement of the struggle with Rome—nearly one hundred and fifty years (410—264, B. C.), without either party being able completely to expel the other from the island. It is probable, however, that the Carthaginians only wanted a great commander to put them in entire possession of Sicily. Had a Hannibal at that time been at

their head, neither the timid and insolent Dionysius, nor the adventurer Agathocles, would have been able to have withstood them. Syracuse, moreover, had its most dangerous enemy within its walls. The inhabitants of that city were by far the most restless of all the states of Greece. Their own commander, as Polybius cleverly observes[a], dared not remove his army to any distance without the walls, because he might be sure that during its absence a revolution would take place. The history of the world, indeed, could scarcely produce another state, which, in so short a space of time, underwent such various, such sudden, and such violent changes in its form of government. Its history, in reality, might with great justice be called, a practical compendium of the art of government.

It would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt the settlement of the Carthaginian boundaries during these wars. They were subject to continual changes, dependent upon the success of their arms. In the treaty of peace, however, made in the year B. C. 383, the little river Halycus, on the south side of the island, was fixed upon as their frontier[b], and it may be regarded as the usual boundary after that time; so that about the third part of the island, which lay on the western side of that river, was under the dominion of the Cartha-

[a] POLYB. i, p. 19. [b] DIODORUS, ii, p. 503, et ibi nota.

ginians, subject however to frequent variation. In the time of Agathocles they seem only to have wanted the city of Syracuse to complete their conquest of the whole island; while at other times they found themselves limited to their original possessions, which they endeavoured more firmly to secure by removing their principal seat to Lilybæum (after Motya had been taken from them by Dionysius), as being a better situation for their fleet and armies[c].

IV. THE BALEARES, AND OTHER SMALLER ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The remaining smaller islands in the Mediterranean, as well those lying along the coast of Africa and Sicily as those in the open sea, were all taken possession of by the Carthaginians. They cost them little to maintain, and served as so many staples for their goods, and as stations for their vessels to touch at in their long voyages. Nearly all these had previously been Phœnician settlements, and history does not inform us of the exact epochs when the Carthaginians became, in each of them, the heirs and successors of their forefathers. They were probably obtained without bloodshed.

[c] Diodorus, i, p. 498.

The greater and lesser Balearean islands, Majorca and Minorca, together with the neighbouring Ebusus, or Yvica, they seem to have occupied at an early period. Diodorus fixes the time when they took possession of the latter at one hundred and sixty years from the building of Carthage[d]. It produced wine, oil, and fine wool. The Carthaginians built in it the colonial city Ebusus, celebrated for the splendour of its buildings, and its excellent harbour; but it may be questioned whether they ever became masters of the whole island. The inhabitants of the Baleares were Troglodytes, and fought as slingers in the Carthaginian armies. Excellent mules were bred in these islands, and the Carthaginians found among the inhabitants a ready sale for their African slaves, particularly females; their situation sufficiently shows, that they were at the same time the principal staples for the Spanish trade.

Nearer to the African coast lie the islands Melita, Gaulos, and Cercina[e]. The first two of these islands were also very early occupied by the Phœnicians, as we learn from monuments and coins still existing, probably about the same time that they founded their colonies on the opposite coasts of the continent[f]. Next

[d] DIODORUS, i, p. 343.

[e] See CLUVER, *Sic. Ant.* p. 425, etc. Their present names are Malta, Gozo, and Karkenna.

[f] The principal work on ancient Malta, but which did not appear till after the third edition of these Inquiries, is *Malta Antica illustrata, co' Monumenti e coll' Istoria dal Prelato* ONORATO BRES; *Roma*, 1816.

to them, and seemingly also at a very early period, an Ionian colony from Chalcis settled there, as is likewise shown by coins and inscriptions[g]. It is impossible to determine exactly when they were brought under the dominion of Carthage; most likely about the same time that she effected her conquests in Sicily and Sardinia, but certainly not later. When Scylax wrote they were already occupied by the Carthaginians[h]. Malta was a principal mart for Carthaginian manufactures, chiefly for woven goods. From this place the finest cloths were exported[i]. Malta was therefore covered with large manufactories and buildings, and the inhabitants derived from their industry a high degree of prosperity and opulence. Gaulos and Cercina served as convenient stations for ships; the harbour of the latter was even sufficiently large to hold vessels of war. I pass by the other smaller islands—such as Lipara, and those belonging to it, which, previous to the commencement of the Roman wars, had been subjected by Carthage[k], who was enriched by their produce, and benefited by their harbours. The express assertion of Polybius[l], that all the islands of the western Mediterranean belonged to her

[g] Especially a *tessera Hospitalis*, besides the money issued by the people and senate of Malta. BRES, p. 91.

[h] SCYLAX, p. 50.

[i] DIODORUS, i, p. 339.

[k] POLYB. i, p. 53.

[l] Ibid. i, p. 22.

makes it unnecessary that we should point them out separately by name.

Respecting the internal government of these provinces, and the relation in which the Carthaginians stood with the inhabitants, very little information unfortunately can be obtained. If we may judge of the other islands from what we know of Sardinia, the republic garrisoned them with bodies of mercenary troops, commanded by Carthaginian officers. This plan was also adopted in Malta[m]. Its inhabitants, however, could never be entirely brought under the dominion of Carthage; many of them chose rather to retire into their inaccessible fastnesses, and dwell in caves, where the Carthaginians could not approach them: forbidding the introduction or possession of silver and gold lest they should excite the cupidity of their enemies[n].

V. SPAIN.

Should what has been already said respecting that principle of Carthaginian policy, which led them to confine their conquests within certain bounds, want farther confirmation, no country will give it so well as Spain. Carthage possessed for a long time, perhaps centuries,

[m] When the consul Sempronius took the island in 218, the Carthaginian garrison, under Hamilcar the son of Gisco, was 2,000 strong. LIVY, xxi, 51.

[n] The inhabitants of the Balearian islands are an example of this. DIODORUS, i, p. 342.

settlements in Spain, and had entered into a close connection with the tribes which inhabited it, without aiming at a complete conquest of the country, or the subjugation of its inhabitants. She did not venture to take this step till the loss of Sicily and Sardinia pointed it out to her as the only means of preserving herself, and counterbalancing the formidable power of the Romans.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to point out the exact period when the Carthaginians first obtained footing in Spain. Here, as well as in Sicily, they trod in the footsteps of their forefathers the Phœnicians. From time immemorial that people, as has been shown in our inquiries respecting them, made that ancient Mexico the chief object of their voyages, and there formed settlements, some of which afterwards became, in their turn, opulent and powerful states. Who is unacquainted with Gades, Carteja, and Tartessus? South-west Spain, or the country of the Turdetani, the present Andalusia, was the proper territory of Phœnician colonies. Of the history of their settlements, however, such scanty accounts have descended to us, that we can only form a general notion of their government and of their relations as well among themselves as with Carthage. Gades was and continued the principal among them, and seems to have exercised a kind of authority over the others, or at least to have been the chief of these allied

cities. It was likewise the seat of the national god, the Tyrian Hercules. There existed, therefore, a relation between these cities similar to that which existed between Carthage and her neighbouring colonies, and that between Tyre and the towns around her in the parent state. The number of settlements on the coast had also produced an intermixture with the ancient inhabitants; and this had created a mingled race, called *Bastuli*, similar to the Liby-Phœnicians in Africa, whom the inhabitants of the interior would not acknowledge as their brethren[o]. We may see by this, that Gades bore a great similarity to Carthage, although it seems never to have equalled her in power.

It was in the south-western districts that the Carthaginians planted their first settlements in Spain. That this took place at a very early period is rendered probable by their early occupation of the Balearian islands, which certainly were of no use to them but as places to touch at in their intercourse with the peninsula. But the express testimony of Scylax, a contemporary writer who lived in the flourishing period of the republic, renders the fact certain. "Beyond the Pillars of Hercules in Europe," says he, "are found a number of Carthaginian marts[p]." These settlements must

[o] See the proofs in MANNERT. *Geog.* i, p. 224.
[p] SCYLAX, p. 1.

moreover have caused a farther extension and increase of possessions at a very early period, even a considerable time before the commencement of the Roman war. This is incontrovertibly proved by the testimony of Polybius, from whom we learn that the Carthaginians even at that time were not only masters of all the islands of the western Mediterranean[q], but also of many parts of Spain. It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to define accurately how much belonged to them; but from the nature of things we must place their possessions in the southern and western part of the peninsula. There is, however, much room to doubt whether their dominion extended far into the country; for at the commencement of the conquests of Hamilcar Barca in Spain, not even the Tartessians, who dwelt on the banks of the lower Guadalquivir, were under their subjection, but were the first to be attacked[r]. It is, therefore, highly probable that down to this period their dominion there, though equal in extent to that of their forefathers, did not reach far beyond the coast.

However this might be, they derived great and most important advantages from these colonies. Even their close connection with the opulent city of Gades, was in more than one way beneficial to them. In consequence of the rich silver mines, which lay just in its

[q] Polyb. i, p. 22. [r] Diodorus, ii, p. 510.

neighbourhood, the price of silver must have been much lower here than in more distant countries where it was not to be found. Hence the Carthaginians opened a market for their own commodities in Spain, and extended themselves all over the country, if not as conquerors, at least as merchants. From here they drew the best of their mercenary troops; and the harbour of Gades served at the same time as a station for their vessels in their distant voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, along the shores of the ocean.

The mines of this country, and the rich treasures they yielded, were nevertheless the great points of attraction. These had already been opened and worked by their forefathers the Phœnicians. Here then, the way was again ready paved for them; and they most probably attempted, in the infancy of their settlements, to turn these mines to account. Even during their Sicilian and Libyan wars, they were enabled by them, according to the express declaration of Diodorus[s], to maintain the mighty armies which they at that time raised; and the mines which the Romans at a later period worked, had all been previously opened by the Carthaginians. This, however, does not render the fact less certain that the attempt to conquer the whole country, which was undertaken and prosecuted during the

[s] Diodorus, i, p. 360.

Roman wars, was the principal cause of the working of these mines being carried to its greatest extent; but seems rather, from the nature of things, to confirm it.

It appears, therefore, that the relations of Carthage with Spain, during the whole of her most flourishing period, were altogether of a peaceable nature. She enjoyed all the advantages which this rich country could bestow without risk or expense, and simply because she had sufficient moderation to prefer a quiet intercourse to the glitter of conquest. The silver mines, whether under her dominion or not, were equally beneficial to her; as by the profitable sale of her wares, she received the treasures they produced. The Spanish tribes were her friends and allies, and willingly served in her armies for a moderate pay. Carthage long enjoyed the fruits of this policy; her treasury was filled, and her argosies rode widely undisturbed across the seas. The pressure of circumstances, which time brought about, compelled her to change this policy; but they arose out of a series of misfortunes which gradually sapped the foundation of the republic, and caused her overthrow. This I shall have opportunities of showing as I proceed.

Respecting the manner of governing the provinces, we have some occasional hints; but nothing like detailed accounts. We glean from the whole, that they were always intrusted to

a single person, who was usually called *general* (στρατηγὸς); though this appellation by no means designated merely a military character, and is much better translated by *governor* or *lieutenant*[t]. Such a *strategos*, or commander, was first in Carthage itself[u]. Another was placed over the Carthaginian territory in Libya[x]; and again another was named to Sicily and Sardinia[y]. It seems also to have been a custom, as might naturally be expected in a state founded by conquest, that the commander of the army should likewise be the governor. Nevertheless, in those provinces which were completely subjugated, and remained tranquil, we find mention of *boetharchs* instead of *strategoi*[z]. This appellation did not exclude military command; and we may therefore doubt whether the difference did not consist rather in the name than in the power of the officer. The authority of the governors in the provinces must have been very great, as with them principally originated the great oppressions, which made the oppressed upon such light occasions revolt[a].

[t] POLYB. i, 179, in this place generally calls the governors στρατηγόι.

[u] Ὁ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγὸς, thus Gisco, POLYB. i, 163.

[x] Like Hanno, POLYB. i, 166.

[y] POLYB. i, 172.

[z] Like Bostarus in Sardinia. POLYB. i, 195; and Carthalo in Africa, APPIAN, *Pun.* 68.

[a] POLYB. i, 179. Those governors were most esteemed who exacted the most taxes. Of course we must not understand this in a general sense; nor of all periods.

II. FOREIGN COLONIES.

The foregoing inquiries must already have shown how closely the conquests and colonies of Carthage were connected with each other; the former were generally consequences of the latter. The colonies of the Carthaginians stretched out far beyond their provinces; for even in places where they had no intention of making extensive conquests, as, for example, on the distant coasts of their own continent, they planted, without hesitation, separate settlements whenever their trade and navigation required it.

Colonies, understanding thereby secure ports and harbours for vessels, and staple towns for merchandize, are indispensable to every seafaring and commercial nation, whenever their trade extends to remote or uncivilized countries, or perhaps to those whose inhabitants are nomads. In these places the merchant must at least have factories in which to deposit his wares in safety, and the inhabitants a place to which they may bring the produce of their industry, and dispose of it with certainty. Without this it is impossible that trade should be regularly and uninterruptedly carried on, as the time during which the ships are absent cannot otherwise be employed in collecting their lading; not to mention many other

advantages belonging to such colonies which must be obvious to every one.

Carthage was under both the forementioned circumstances, and especially the latter. By far the greater part of her commerce was carried on with nations to whom she was greatly superior in civilization. The native tribes of Africa beyond her own dominions were all nomads; the inhabitants of Spain, Gaul, and Liguria, were but little better. It was not, therefore, a mere desire of aggrandizement, which led Carthage to plant colonies; it was necessary to her well being; it was her soundest policy. They were by no means in general intended as the groundwork for future conquest, although in some instances, they certainly became so.

No other state of antiquity carried the colonial system to so great an extent as Carthage; and to no other did their colonies remain to the last of so much importance. The state itself was so greatly indebted to them, or was rather so founded upon them, that they were almost necessary to its very existence. Of one kind we have already spoken, namely, the inland; these were intended for agricultural purposes, and to improve and reform the native tribes: what follows relates only to their foreign possessions.

The usual, and probably the general intention of these foreign settlements was to facilitate and secure to the parent state its intercourse with

the countries in which they were planted. Their situation affords a proof of this, as they always fixed upon the coasts, or small islands near the shore. The cause, however, of their foundation, naturally gave rise to certain general principles, which were not only acted upon at their first establishment, but also in their subsequent treatment.

With the planting of their colonies the religious worship of the Carthaginians was closely connected. This arose from the origin of their own city. They were indeed themselves a colony; and had brought the worship of their national god *Melcarth*, or Heracles as the Greeks call him, with them; the god of the city and boundaries of Tyre, and consequently also of Carthage. In the same manner that he had obtained a sanctuary at Carthage, was his worship introduced into her foreign settlements; and thus he acquired the appellation of the colonial god[b]. The form of worship here observed, was the tie which bound the colonies to the mother state, as was the case with Carthage, otherwise completely independent, towards Tyre. The greater security of commerce certainly was not less the object. How could this in distant lands, probably among barbarous nations, be better carried on than under the protection of a sacred institution?

[b] Diodorus, ii, p. 415. Ἡρακλῆς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπόικοις. An important passage. This does not however exclude the establishment of other sanctuaries.

Upon the manner in which her colonies were first established and regulated, a considerable light is thrown by one of the most valuable documents that has descended to us from ancient Carthage. I mean the celebrated expedition of Hanno, who, in the most flourishing period of the republic, set sail, with a whole fleet, to plant a chain of settlements on the western coast of Africa, on the shores of the Atlantic ocean, in the present kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, and at the same time to make a more distant voyage of discovery along the coasts[c]. He placed, after his return, as a memorial of this enterprise, an inscription in the temple of Cronos, one of the principal temples of Carthage; this was probably translated by a Greek traveller into his native language, and has fortunately descended to us.

From this account it is plain that the Carthaginians on distant coasts, where they wished to establish settlements, erected not merely a single town, but at once a chain of stations. The preparations, therefore, must necessarily have been on an extensive scale. The fleet of Hanno, consisting of sixty ships, did not contain less than 30,000 colonists, including men,

[c] See the translation of these in the Appendix, where also are stated the proofs of the following conjecture. If this Hanno was the son of Hamilcar who fell in Sicily, 480 (see the Appendix upon the genealogy of the ruling houses in Carthage), then his expedition, as well as his brother Himilco's to the western coast of Iberia for the same object, may perhaps be placed about the year 450; which becomes the more probable as about this time the Carthaginians were not engaged in any foreign wars that we know of.

women, and children. These he distributed into six towns, containing on an average five thousand inhabitants each. New Carthage, founded at a later period on the Spanish coast, was from the first a large city[d]. In both cases, however, peculiar circumstances contributed to the rather extraordinary magnitude of these establishments. New Carthage was intended to be the chief city of the republic in Spain; and it was requisite that the towns founded on the African coast should have the means of defending themselves against the nomad tribes, whom, however, at last they were unable to resist. Otherwise it would scarcely have agreed with the plan of the Carthaginians to found such large settlements at first. Their object did not require them; and if they had not been deterred from founding such by the expense, the difficulty of maintaining them would have been too great.

The colonists which Hanno carried out, consisted, as we are expressly informed, of Liby-Phœnicians, and were not chosen from among the citizens of Carthage, but taken from the country inhabitants. Whether this was done that they might carry on agriculture in their new abode, is a point which history leaves doubtful; and it would be rash to judge from its being done on this occasion, that such was the general practice. It is highly probable

[d] Polyb. i, p. 249.

that in other cases the emigrants were taken from Carthage or the allied cities.

The same motive which led to the foundation of these colonies, naturally made it the anxious care of the parent state to keep them in strict dependence. And in this respect Carthage showed herself superior to all the commercial powers of antiquity who planted colonies. Neither the original Phœnicians, nor the Greek states, were able to maintain their authority for so great a length of time. Their colonies either were or soon became independent; raised themselves often above the mother state; and not unfrequently wrested from her that trade which they ought properly to have protected. From such mortifications Carthage found means to secure herself: and principally by the great advantages she derived from her geographical situation, and her great power both by land and sea. She was placed in the midst of her foreign settlements, and was therefore always nigh at hand in case of need. Her great military and naval force enabled her to maintain a preponderance which rendered it easy for her to keep a careful watch over her colonies, to hold them in subjection, and to repress every revolt in its infancy. None of them, the Sicilian not excepted, among which Panormus was the most considerable[e], ever attained any great degree of power; much less were they able to cope with

[e] Polyb. i, 97.

Carthage, with whom, indeed, not one of them ever dared to enter the lists.

To what distance their colonies in general extended, cannot now be determined with certainty. Over the more remote, on the shores of the ocean, an obscurity seems to hover which we in vain endeavour to break through. Time, circumstances, and experience, seem, however, even here to have given rise to certain maxims which were never swerved from but in cases of necessity. Their navigation stretched much farther, both along the western coasts of Europe and Africa, than traces of their settlements are now to be found. And here, again, so far as we can judge, they seem willingly to have confined themselves within the rule, which forbade them to extend their colonies farther than they felt they had sufficient power to maintain the dominion of the sea, and thereby to ensure themselves the undisturbed possession of their settlements, and the trade belonging to them. This accounts for the phenomenon, that in all their contentions with the Greeks and Etrurians, they scarcely ever lost one of their colonies.

The shores of the western Mediterranean was the principal seat of their settlements; though they were very unequally distributed. The coast of Africa, from the western limits of their proper territory to the Pillars of Hercules, was covered with them, and there they would scarcely have endured a rival. No nation even

dared to make the attempt. The places there situated are mentioned, as has already been remarked, under the name of the Metagonitish cities, but seem for the most part to have been rather forts (φρούρια) than towns.

Their connections and settlements on the southern coast of Spain have been already described.

The shores of Gaul were barred against them. They here came in contact with their hereditary enemies the Phœnicians, who had built Massilia. The inhabitants of that city ruled over a great part of the coast, and were as little inclined to suffer a rival foreign settlement to be made near them, as the Carthaginians were in Africa. Repeated forcible attempts were fruitless; the Massilians could defend themselves by land and sea[f]; and the Carthaginians were compelled to abandon their design of founding a settlement there. They must, however, have formed connections at a very early period in the interior of the country, as they drew from thence a large portion of their mercenary troops[g]. In the time of the Roman wars, their allies in Celtica are expressly mentioned in the treaty between Hannibal and Philip.

On the shores of Liguria they were better received. Hired troops of this nation were

[f] See JUSTIN, xliii, 5; and compare CAMPOMANES *Antiguedad*, etc. ii, p. 23, 24.

[g] POLYB. i, p. 39.

generally found in their armies; they were, besides, united by a common hatred against the Massilians. We do not, however, find that they had any colonies there. The neighbourhood of the Massilians, who had covered a part of the Ligurian coast with their settlements, might have been sufficient to keep them at a distance.

But upon no country, perhaps, were the eyes of Carthage so constantly fixed as upon Italy Proper. Its situation, its fertility, the opulence of its inhabitants, all attracted her attention. Yet we find there no trace of any Carthaginian settlements. The coasts of the whole country were occupied by seafaring and trading nations,—Etrurians, Romans or Latins, and Greeks, all too well acquainted with their own interest to permit it. The Carthaginians seem, however, to have neglected no opportunity by which they could hope to effect their purpose; whence we may account for the many treaties and alliances by which their rivals endeavoured to prevent their approach. Those with Rome have in part been preserved by Polybius, and have already been several times mentioned. A single glance at them will be sufficient to show with what anxious care the Romans provided that their adversaries should build no fort in Latium, nor retain any town which they might previously have occupied. A number of similar treaties

with the Etrurians are quoted by Aristotle[b]. It is unnecessary to mention the Greeks of Lower Italy. When, indeed, could Carthaginians and Greeks ever come to an agreement?

But, on the contrary, a clear and extensive field was open to them on the ocean-shores of Africa and Europe. Here there were no competitors to be feared; here there was no one even to limit their possessions: every establishment in these regions might in its turn become a point from which a still more distant commerce might be carried on, of which they could not themselves foresee the extent. An immeasurable ocean and a new world here offered themselves, to their enlarging views and enterprising spirit.

The advantages which these held out, were not lost upon the Carthaginians, who, at a very early period, seized upon, and followed them up, without suffering themselves to be dazzled by their magnitude. However alluring the prospects, they seem never to have permitted their colonial system to extend to a larger circumference than their naval power would enable them to keep in subjection. But we are so insufficiently informed upon this matter, that we cannot safely pronounce any judgment upon their undertakings.

[b] Aristot. *Polit.* iii, 9. "The Carthaginians and Etrurians," says he, "have a great many treaties on their mutual rights and alliances."

We know, however, with certainty, that their colonies were scattered along the western coasts of Africa and Spain, and were founded at the same period in both quarters of the globe. About the same time that Hanno was sent to the coast of Africa, Himilco, another commander, was sent to explore the western coast of Europe; and his narrative, as well as that of Hanno, was extant in ancient times[j]. It has not, indeed, like that of Hanno, been preserved to us, but very important extracts from it are found in the fragment of a poem come down to us, valuable for the information it gives us of the coasts in the time of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. I mean the *Ora Maritima* of Festus Avienus, in which Himilco is repeatedly quoted as authority[k], together with the Greek geographers, who were very nearly, or quite contemporary with him. This poem confirms all that we have said in the section on the Phœnicians as well concerning their settlements, as on the extent and signification of the name of Tartessus. It also becomes clear that the Carthaginians were their successors in this part of the world, and that to a great extent. Both Avienus and Scylax, who likewise made use of Himilco, agree with each other respecting the fact, that many Carthaginian settlements were founded

[j] PLINY, H. N. ii, 67.

[k] FESTI AVIENI *Ora Maritima* (different from his *Descriptio Orbis*), v. 177, 412, etc. See the translation of the passages in the Appendix, vi.

beyond the Pillars of Hercules[l]. Even from the analogy of the voyage of Hanno who formed a series of settlements on the western coast of Africa, we cannot conclude otherwise than that the commission of Himilco was of equal or similar extent.

When Scylax says, in the beginning of his Periplus, that from the Pillars of Hercules on the European coast, there lay many settlements of the Carthaginians, it certainly is to be understood that they lay *without* the Pillars, as the context informs us that morasses and shallows next follow, which agreed with the common notion of that people, who believed the ocean to be unnavigable, but not the Mediterranean. And besides, as Gades and the neighbouring Phœnician colonies lay without the Pillars, we may safely conclude that those parts were not unknown or unoccupied by the Carthaginians. Where their settlements were planted, and how far they stretched, we do not exactly know; but we may with certainty affirm that they reached as far as the river Anas (Guadiana), and to the Sacred Promontory (Cape St. Vincent)[m]. That the Carthaginians

[l] Scylax, p. 2. Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἐμπόρια πολλὰ Καρχηδονίων, καὶ πηλὸς καὶ πλημμυρίδες καὶ πελάγη. Festus Avienus correctly translates ἀπὸ by *ultra*, v. 375:

> Ultra has columnas propter Europæ latus
> Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
> Tenuere quondam.

[m] Fest. Avienus, v. 205, 225. According to him the province of Tar-

formed establishments on the north coast of Spain, and in the British islands, is indeed proved by no express evidence; but that they visited these shores, especially the Scilly islands, for commercial purposes, will be placed beyond a doubt in the chapter on their navigation and maritime commerce.

The towns built by Hanno on the western coast of Africa, wherever we may separately place them, certainly did not extend beyond the boundaries of Fez and Morocco: the first of them, Thymiaterium, was only two days' sail from the end of the strait, or promontory of Spartel[n]; Scylax mentions it by name[o]. Next to that follows the promontory Soloe, Cape Blanc near Agimur, where was erected a sanctuary to Neptune (probably a votive offering for their prosperous voyage), which Scylax describes as a large altar, decorated with bas-reliefs, representing human figures, lions, and dolphins. A day and a half's farther sail to the south, probably in the vicinity of Saffy, along the seacoast, five towns were built: their names were Caricum Teichos, Gytta, Acra, Melite, and Arambe. The last settlement to the south was founded on the small island Cerne, which must be sought for

tessus extended as far as the Anas. The whole of this coast is full of Phœnician-Carthaginian remains and names of places. From the Anas to the Sacred Promontory dwelt the Cynetes, who are mentioned by Herod. iv, 49, as the most westerly people of Europe.

[n] The farther illustration of what follows may be seen in the Appendix, on the Periplus of Hanno.

[o] Scylax, p. 52, 53.

either near Mogador, or more probably in the bay of Santa Cruz. The name which it bore (but which the Greeks transferred to almost every distant southern island, in the same manner as they did Thule to every distant northern) was given it by Hanno himself. It was only five stadia (about two thirds of a mile) in circumference, and lay in a bay close to the shore; where it afforded the Carthaginians a convenient emporium, both on account of its security from the attacks of the natives, and as it permitted the approach of the Carthaginian vessels, which were unable to reach the coast itself on account of its shallows [p].

These colonies of Hanno seem, indeed, to have been the first planted in these regions. No traces are found in his narrative of any settlements having previously existed there; but the whole length of the coast is described as a new discovery, which he extended beyond the Senegal, as he pushed his discoveries much farther than he founded settlements. The ultimate fate of the latter is wrapt in obscurity; in the time of the Roman wars they had ceased to exist, and had probably fallen a prey to the nomad tribes.

But if, as we shall presently see, the navigation and intercourse with these regions were, at least for a considerable time, kept up, it will

[p] Scylax, p. 54.

not be surprising that some of the western islands should become known to the Carthaginians. Such express evidence is preserved of this, that we cannot doubt of the fact in general, although some obscurity still rests as to particulars. The Phœnicians had, indeed, as Diodorus informs us[q], discovered an island in the ocean, many days' sail to the west of Libya, the romantic description of which almost forces upon our remembrance some of the Fortunate islands of the South sea, which have lately been made known to us. All that Diodorus tells us of its being situated at a considerable distance in the ocean, of its nature, of its plentiful streams and rivers, of its productions, and especially of its great variety of trees, agrees with no other island so well as Madeira[r]. The general information spread abroad respecting it, made the Etrurians, then a formidable maritime power, desirous of possessing it. But the Carthaginians, treading in this

[q] Diodorus, i, p. 345.

[r] Quite the contrary is the case with regard to the Canary islands, to which we might at first apply it; and it agrees with them least of all in the number of streams, even navigable rivers, of which Diodorus speaks. These islands lack water; while in Madeira we reckon seven rivers, besides numerous brooks. Whether the Carthaginians were likewise acquainted with the Canary islands may be questioned. A passage in F. Avienus's *Description of the Coasts*, not only seems to point towards them, but I think I can trace therein a certain allusion to Teneriffe and its volcano. Beyond the Pillars, says he, v. 164. etc. lies an island,

> on ocean's bosom spread,
> Where varying herbs in wild profusion grow.
> Sacred to Saturn is the land esteemed;

respect, as well as others, in the footsteps of their forefathers, would not allow it. They guarded the island with their own peculiar jealousy. When, indeed, the settlements from Carthage began to be numerous, they not only prohibited the entrance of the Etrurians, but according to another account[s], exterminated even the ancient inhabitants. They set a higher value upon this island because, according to Diodorus, they regarded it as a place of refuge in case of need: that at the first appearance of decay in the mighty Carthage, this island might shelter its inhabitants, and a new Carthage rise here in the midst of the ocean. Unfortunate people! They forboded the fall of their empire, whose frail support they felt shake beneath them; but their protecting genius drove from their imagination the lugubrious idea that they should be buried under its ruins[t].

> And nature's power is there terrific seen;
> For when by chance the mariner draws nigh
> The coast, the ambient waters rage around,
> The island shakes and starts among the waves
> And deeply trembles—while the ocean lies
> Calm in the distance, silent and unmoved.

Can an island in which a volcano rages be better pictured in words? Its being dedicated to Saturn shows plainly that it was occupied by the Carthaginians. We shall become acquainted with him, as we advance, as one of their principal deities.

[s] Aristot. *de Mirab.* cap. 85, *ed. Beckm.* Compare the passage with the corrections of Heyne.

[t] Polyb. ii, p. 598. Ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων.

CHAPTER III.

The government of Carthage.

ARISTOTLE, who possessed so accurate a knowledge of the different constitutions of his age, mentions it as a merit in the Carthaginian government, that it had at that time undergone no very great change, either from the civil broils of its citizens, or the usurpation of tyrants[a]. He justly considers this as a proof of its judicious organization; and an inquiry into it would, on that score alone, deserve attention, even if the state with which it is connected did not, on so many other accounts, justly claim it. To give, indeed, what the historical inquirer would naturally wish for, an historical development of the Carthaginian government throughout all the periods of the republic, our want of information renders impossible. But few accounts have descended to us, and even these few we dare not make use of without mistrust. The foreign historians

[a] ARISTOT. *Polit.* ii, 11. See the translation of the chapter in the Appendix.

of this republic rarely extend their research into its internal affairs; and when they do, the form of the Roman government floats continually before their eyes; they compare silently, and often imagine that they find a similarity because they look for it. The names of the Roman magistrates are given to the Carthaginian, and, together with the name, its attributes; although the nature of things tells us that the corresponding situation of the magistrates among a commercial and a warlike people must be very different. The inquiry is thus rendered exceedingly difficult, and if we would at all succeed in our object, we must not number the authorities but weigh them. The first place among the historians is due, without contradiction, to Polybius. He was best acquainted with the constitution, is accurate, and the most uniform in his expressions. His authority, where we can quote it, is in my opinion decisive, whether confirmed by the agreement of others or not. Diodorus and Appian are certainly inferior to him, yet not so much so as Livy and Justin. We make use of them only where Polybius fails us. Fortunately, however, historians in this part of our labour are not the only source of information. In addition to them we have Aristotle, who in his treatise on politics has devoted a whole chapter to the constitution of Carthage[b]. To

[b] Aristot. *Polit.* ii, 11. How much better still should we have been informed if his lost treatise on governments had been preserved. That of

him we are indebted for the most valuable, and at the same time the most faithful particulars; and the following remarks are for the most part founded upon his statements.

The Carthaginian state had, in common with Rome, Athens, Sparta, and the other most celebrated republics of antiquity, the general character of having a single city for its head. And although all parts of the empire did not stand in an equal relation towards the capital, they were, nevertheless, in some degree subordinate to it; and the citizens of Carthage formed the ruling body. However great, therefore, the dominions of this city might become, the government still remained municipal, and must as such be considered. But since the compass of our inquiry confines us to the burghers of this city, it becomes of so much the greater importance that we should form a clear conception not only of what is properly called their constitution, but also respecting their civil relations in general, the classes of the citizens, their sources of profit, etc. These

Carthage was explained therein. In his Politics this was not his object, but only to show how far the Carthaginian constitution corresponded with the advance, which man, according to his system, may make towards a good government. A complete and detailed explanation of it can not therefore be here expected. The treatise of THEODORUS METOCHITA belonging to the fourteenth century, *περὶ Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτείας* was not published till after the third edition of this work, in his *Miscellanea philosophica et historica, Græce, Lips.* 1821; and reprinted and explained by PROFESSOR KLUGE, at the end of his *Aristoteles de Politia Carthaginiensium*. It is, however, not so much an investigation as a characteristic of the Carthaginian government, mostly from known sources, yet not altogether without new matter.

taken together will enable us to estimate with tolerable accuracy the civilization of this people.

Carthage was from the beginning a trading city, and it was undoubtedly by trade that she raised herself to opulence and power. It is, nevertheless, a mistaken notion to suppose the Carthaginians a mere nation of merchants; the foregoing observations have in some measure already shown in what esteem they held the cultivation of the soil as well as commerce. Nature did not lavish upon them her treasures in vain. The establishment of so many inland colonies, appropriated solely to agriculture, is at once a decided proof of the fact. They left not, however, this branch of industry to be carried on in the colonies alone, but followed it themselves. All accounts agree in praising the high state of cultivation found in the neighbourhood of Carthage. "The territory through which Agathocles led his army after their landing," says Diodorus[c], "was covered with gardens and large plantations, everywhere intersected by canals, by which they were plentifully watered. A continual succession of landed estates was there seen, adorned with elegant buildings, which betrayed the opulence of their owners. These dwellings were furnished with everything requisite for the enjoyment of man; the proprietors having accumulated immense stores during the long

[c] Diodorus, ii, p. 411.

peace. The lands were planted with vines, with palms, and many other fruit trees. On one side were meadows filled with flocks and herds, and on the lower grounds ranged troops of brood mares. In short the whole prospect displayed the opulence of the inhabitants: the highest rank of Carthaginians had possessions here, and vied with one another in pomp and luxury." Fifty years later, when they were invaded by the Romans under Regulus, Polybius draws a similar picture of this district[d]. A number of elegant villas were upon that occasion destroyed, an immense booty obtained in cattle, and above 20,000 slaves carried off. And in general, says this writer in another place[e], the Carthaginians drew their private income from their own landed property; the public revenue from the provinces. It is, moreover, a well-known fact, that the science of agriculture in its widest range, and in all its parts, was so well handled by them in their writings, that the Romans did not think them unworthy to be translated into their own language[f].

[d] Polyb. i. p. 76. [e] Ibid. p. 177.

[f] Plin. xviii. 3. When the Romans, says he, took Carthage, they gave the libraries found there (consequently there were some) to the native princes: namely to their allies in Numidia. And this throws a light upon the manner in which the works of the Carthaginian historians had come into the possession of king Hiempsal (see above, p. 21.). The works of Mago alone, one of the kings or suffetes of Carthage, upon agriculture, in twenty-eight books, was translated into Latin by D. Silanus. The fragments of it preserved to us by Pliny are sufficient to show us that it treated in full detail upon all kinds of husbandry, agriculture, planting, breeding of

Mankind seem, indeed, generally to have paid more respect to agriculture than to commerce. In scarcely any part of the ancient world did the merchant hold the highest rank, and probably not in Carthage. It is plain from what has been already said, that families of the first rank were in possession of large estates, from whose produce they drew their income; while, on the contrary, there is not a single trace in the whole history of the republic of their being concerned in trade. Aristotle certainly informs us, that their magistrates were not prevented from engaging in trade[g]; but the expression is so vague that it may as well be understood of the produce of their lands and their mines, which in part belonged to private individuals. In whatever way, however, we may explain this passage, it is evident from the whole tenor of their history, that commerce was not the usual occupation of the higher ranks of Carthaginians. It seems more probable that it was their common custom, as one of the following chapters, on their military system, will show, to devote themselves to a martial life; particularly as the military state is expressly distinguished from that of the merchant[h].

cattle, etc. See a translation of them in the Appendix. It cannot then be doubted, even if the above mention of libraries fail to prove it, that there existed a Carthaginian literature; that it was supported by the great of Carthage; and that it was certainly not merely a poetical one, but rather a prosaic. A work so extensive as that of Mago could neither be the first nor the only one.

[g] Aristot. v, 12. Ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς χρηματίζεσθαι.

[h] Diodorus, ii, p. 450.

The government of Carthage was the work of time and circumstances. An express legislation by which the rights and relations of the constitutional authorities were defined is nowhere mentioned. And if we consider this rightly, it will immediately appear that nothing was more firmly established or accurately determined in the Carthaginian constitution than in the Roman; consequently the government could not come to maturity at once. Probably, therefore, the constitution was perfected by degrees, chiefly by internal broils, of which some slight traces are found in the early history of the state; custom and usage was the sanction which made it legal. A monarchical government is usually given to Carthage at its foundation; this afterwards became changed, we know not how or when, into a republic. That this really happened is stated, though only incidentally, by Aristotle[i]. This opinion, however, only rests upon an uncertain tradition respecting a queen Dido, who is generally supposed to have been a princess of unlimited authority[k]. But, without doubt, Carthage adopted, after the custom of all the colonies of ancient times, the constitution of her parent state; and, notwithstanding she might thereby give herself what were called kings, yet, as will

[i] ARISTOT. *Polit.* v, 12.

[k] That there was also another fable besides that of Dido, according to which Zorus and Carchedon were the founders, we learn from APPIAN, viii, 1.

be seen under the head of Phœnicia, this government was by no means despotic.

However this may have been, all accounts agree that an aristocracy arose, which soon obtained that strength and solidity which form the striking feature of that kind of government, distinguished however by many institutions peculiar to itself.

During the flourishing period of the republic, and even as late as the Roman wars, it remained unshaken; two attempts to overthrow it passing over with little or no effect[1]. The foreign policy of Carthage was the counterpart of her domestic government. While the latter remained firmly established, the former remained equally secure. The constant prosecution of the same plans for many centuries, a willing limitation of her conquests, and a moderation even in the midst of fortune, are all characteristic features of a temperate aristocracy, and are incompatible with a democratic government. The prevailing projects remained as it were hereditary in the ruling families; and as these became changed by the wars with Rome, a reaction upon the internal relations of the state followed, as an almost unavoidable consequence, for they were too closely connected not to be mutually influenced by each other. The all-dissolving hand of time, and the corruption of the national character

[1] Aristot. and Polyb. ii, cc. The first attempt was made by a senator named Hanno, and another by Bomilcar; both of which failed. Justin, l. c.

by avarice and immoderate wealth, helped also to effect this change; but it is probable that the careful and bustling activity of aristocratic policy would have found means to prop up the tottering fabric of the state, if the internal shocks had not been assisted by violence from without.

But what was the form of this aristocracy? Did it give Carthage an hereditary nobility? And if so what were its rights and privileges? These are questions of very high importance, but which cannot be answered without great difficulty.

If we take hereditary nobility in the stricter sense of the word—that is, if we understand by it a number of families who, by their birth alone, had an exclusive right to the administration of government, such as was possessed by the patricians in the early days of Rome, and by the *nobili* in Venice—there remains no proof that such an hereditary nobility with hereditary rights existed in Carthage. But there are many degrees between so powerful an aristocracy as this and complete political equality; and although there may be no evidence of an hereditary nobility in Carthage similar to the one here described, yet it may, on the other side, be very easily proved, that a perfect political equality was still farther distant. From the want of a fixed constitution, with its fundamental laws reduced to writing, everything had here been effected by circumstances and relations to which time

and place had given birth. In a rich commercial city wealth had naturally the greatest influence. As in Carthage the magisterial office conferred honour without revenue[m], and as it nevertheless must have brought with it a great expense; it follows of course that it could only be administered by the opulent. Rich families, therefore, although they might have no hereditary claim, procured one by their wealth, which was not less valid while it lasted. Riches, however, were not always alone sufficient. "The magistrates of Carthage," says Aristotle, "were chosen on account of their property, their worth, and their popularity[n]." The latter was essential, as the elections in Carthage depended, in a great measure, on the people. Authority flowed from personal superiority of every description. Birth might assist in obtaining it, but could not give it alone. Even noble families, if they sunk into poverty lost it. But of all qualifications, none would be so powerful in a conquering state as military renown; and even from the scanty remains of Carthaginian history which are left, we may gather sufficient evidence to prove that it was chiefly at the beginning of what

[m] Aristot. l. c.

[n] Aristot. *Polit.* v, 7; ii, p. 280, Ὅπου οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἰς τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετὴν, καὶ δῆμον, οἷον ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ὡύτη ἀριστοκρατικὴ ἐστι. And ii, 2, Οὐ μόνον ἀριστίνδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. The ἀριστίνδην of Aristotle does not signify birth, but personal merit, of whatever sort it might be, which procured for its possessor general esteem.

may be called the Period of Conquest, that great and noble families raised themselves to such a pitch, as to excite the jealousy of the state.

It was not, therefore, so much a real hereditary nobility that composed the aristocracy of Carthage, as a number of *optimate families*[o]. The number of these families cannot now be ascertained with anything like certainty; it could not always have been the same; but it is evident that sometimes a single family maintained for a long period so high a degree of authority that the generals and principal magistrates were taken chiefly from it. The house of Mago, the first conquerors in Sicily and Sardinia, affords a striking example of this. From the genealogy of this house, so far as it can now be collected from the fragments which remain of ancient writers[p], it is clear that for at least four generations (a full century, if not more), it gave generals to Carthage; and even the repeated misfortunes of some of its members did not take from it this privilege.

But however great the power and influence of such families might have been, it remains nevertheless certain that the government never became a pure aristocracy, but always contained a mixture of democracy, though that democracy was very limited. Both Po-

[o] It bears the appellation of ἔνδοξοι, Polyb. i, 118; of ἐπιφανέσταται, Diodorus, ii, 399; of *Nobiles*, Livius, xxii, 58, and such like.

[p] See the Appendix.

lybius[q] and Aristotle[r] agree in placing the government of Carthage among the mixed forms, although its domineering character was aristocratic. A closer inquiry into the rights of the people, the nature and power of the senate, concerning the magistrates and their business, as well as the formation of the courts of justice, will give us a deeper insight into the internal organization of the state, and perhaps as deep a one as the scarcity of materials will allow.

Aristotle and Polybius both mention the Spartan government as that which bore the greatest resemblance to the Carthaginian in most of its principal parts; the latter also compares it with that of Rome as it existed in his time, when as yet no demagogue had broken the power of the senate[s]. Although we must beware of following these comparisons too far in particulars, as the great difference in the manners and habits of the two nations will sufficiently teach us, they nevertheless serve, taken together, as the groundwork of many important inquiries; and by employing them we become immediately convinced that

[q] Polyb. ii, p. 562. The government of Carthage seems also to have been originally well contrived with regard to those general forms that have been mentioned. For there were kings in this government, together with a senate, which was vested with aristocratical authority. The people likewise enjoyed the exercise of certain powers that were appropriated to them. In a word, the entire frame of the republic very much resembled those of Rome and Sparta.

[r] Aristot. ii, 11.

[s] Aristot. et Polyb. l. c.

the power of the people in Carthage was more moderate than could otherwise have been supposed.

The rights which they possessed were exercised, as we learn from many examples, in their public assemblies; of the internal organization of which we however know nothing, as we are altogether ignorant of the way in which the people or citizens were divided and classed. Even respecting the extent of their rights we can only give probabilities. We only know for certain, that whatever was brought before the people was first deliberated upon in the senate; how otherwise could the aristocracy have maintained their authority. What, however, was brought before the people we cannot precisely determine. The principal question is, what part had the people in the election of magistrates? Many of these, kings and generals in particular, we know were elected; and so far as we can judge from single examples, the nomination was first made in the senate, and afterwards brought to the people for their confirmation[t]. Although the election, therefore, was not entirely in the hands of the people, they nevertheless acted a prin-

[t] Hannibal was thus named general, POLYB. iii, 419. Another example of the nomination of the people, which does not however exclude the previous one by the senate, is found in POLYB. i, 206. So, on the contrary, we find the nomination of the senate did not exclude the confirmation by the people, DIODORUS, ii, 399. The usual expression of Polybius, is *the Carthaginians elect*, which seems to be used intentionally as including both the senate and people.

cipal part in them. This important right kept the leading families in a continual dependence on the people, whose favours they could not do without. But in a state so rich as Carthage these elections would easily produce bribery; which, even in the time of Aristotle was become so common, that he expressly says, the highest offices in Carthage were bought and sold.

Besides this, another right which was enjoyed by the people, as we can affirm with certainty on the testimony of Aristotle[w], was that of deciding in all cases upon which the senate and kings could not agree: and when these were brought before them, they not only possessed the power of adopting or rejecting them, but also of deliberating upon them; as every one was at liberty to attack or defend them[x]. Lastly, we find many examples of state affairs of high importance, such as declarations of war and treaties of peace, being brought before the people for their sanction, after having been discussed by the senate[y], although this does not seem to have been absolutely necessary[z].

[w] ARISTOT. *Polit.* ii, 11.

[x] ARISTOT. l. c.

[y] POLYB. iii, 490, 493, and the principal passage in the speech of Scipio, 508, which leaves no room for doubt. Also DIODORUS, i, p. 679.

[z] Examples of the contrary are found in POLYB. i, p. 456. DIODORUS, ii, p. 412. They are however rather specious than real, as from the mere silence of the people it cannot be concluded that they were not consulted. Might it not also, during the period in which the power of the senate became absolute, as was the case in Rome, have become little more than a mere form.

The highest political body of the republic, and upon which devolved the management of all affairs of state, was the senate; and there seems no doubt but that during the flourishing period of the republic, previous to the commencement of the wars with Rome, that assembly held in its own hands the whole power of the government. Respecting its internal organization the writers of antiquity are silent, and, as they had occasion so frequently to mention it, we may judge from their silence how little attention they paid to the study of the Carthaginian government. Indeed, whether the senate was merely a chosen body of the citizens, from time to time renewed; or a permanent assembly; whether it was in the power of all the citizens to become a member of it, and how many enjoyed this privilege; and finally, by whom the senators were elected; are all questions of high importance, but which, for want of more information, can only very unsatisfactorily be answered.

That the senate of the republic was not periodically renewed from among the citizens, but a permanent assembly, admits of no doubt; otherwise it could not have acquired the solidity which secured it the government of the republic; and Polybius would have been as little able to compare it with the Roman senate as Aristotle with the Spartan. But whether it filled up its own body, or whether, as in Rome, the having filled certain offices,

opened the entrance to it, or whether new members were elected from the people, there unfortunately remain only very imperfect accounts. We are no better informed respecting the number of its members. Perhaps it was not legally fixed. There are, however, data from which we may conclude that they amounted to a considerable number, and probably, as in Rome, to several hundreds. We find numerous deputations of its members sent forth[a]; many others were absent with armies as commissioners; besides which, a considerable number was requisite for the preservation of its dignity and authority.

The name usually given to the senate by the Greek writers, and which they also applied to the Roman, was *gerusia*. This term is frequently used as synonymous with that given to the council of state (σύγκλητος)[b]; and sometimes with the *synedrium*[c]. We learn however from more precise writers that those appellations were not synonymous; and this throws an important light upon the internal organization of the Carthaginian senate, which contained within itself a smaller and a larger council. The former, or more select council, was called *gerusia*, and the latter *synkletos*, and both these were sometimes included under

[a] In Polyb. i, p. 215, a deputation of thirty members to reconcile Hamilcar and Hanno. Again in Livy, xxx, 16.

[b] As for example in Diodorus, i, p. 679, and many others.

[c] Polyb. i, p. 480.

the name of *synedrium*. Thus we find in two passages of Polybius, the *gerusia* and *synkletos* expressly distinguished from one another. In the army of Mago in Italy, two out of the *gerusia* and fifteen out of the council were taken prisoners[d]. When Rome obliged the Carthaginians to give up three hundred young men as hostages, they were partly to be taken from the sons of the *gerusia* and partly from those of the council[e]. Diodorus also makes a distinction between them in more than one passage[f]. It is therefore evident that a distinction must have existed; and from the proportion which the number of prisoners above mentioned bear to each other, it seems plain that the members of the council were more numerous than those of the senate, or *gerusia*. We may, therefore, consider the latter as composed of a selection, as its name implies, of the senior, or most worthy members; for in it, as is shown by a great number of examples, the most important affairs were first debated. This is placed beyond a doubt by a passage of Livy[g]: "The Cartha-

[d] Polyb. iii, p. 228.

[e] Polyb. iv, p. 671. But in another place Polybius calls the senate σύγκλητος, see iii, p. 490.

[f] Diodorus, ll. cc.

[g] Liv. xxx, 16. Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos consilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis. What Livy calls the *senatus* is therefore the larger council, the σύγκλητος; the *seniores*, on the contrary (the *gerusia*) the smaller.

ginians were so dismayed at the capture of Syphax, that they refused to listen to any one who advised a continuance of hostilities, and sent thirty of their principal elders, as ambassadors, to solicit peace. With them", continues the historian, "the select council is held in the highest reverence, and enjoys a paramount control over the senate itself." The relation in which the *gerusia* stood to the larger council, may doubtless be drawn from this fact: they were not two completely separate assemblies, for the members of the *gerusia* belonged also to the larger council, and we have therefore very properly called it a select council. This is also confirmed by the manner in which they transacted business; for we learn from many examples, that state affairs were first laid before the *gerusia*, and after having been deliberated upon there, were brought before the larger assembly.

Respecting the origin of this select council, an account is preserved to us in Justin which gives us a deep insight into the Carthaginian government. "As the house of Mago", says he[h], "became dangerous to a free state, an hundred judges were chosen from among the senators, who, upon the return of generals from the war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that they being thereby kept in awe, should so bear themselves in their com-

[h] JUSTIN. xix, 2.

mand in the war, as to have regard to the laws and judicature at home." From this passage it is clear that the *hundred* was selected from the more extensive assembly of the senate; and the number of its members is also determined. The subsequent history of Carthage sufficiently shows that it remained a permanent assembly, as does also the severity, and often cruelty, with which it treated unsuccessful commanders, who sometimes chose rather to lay violent hands upon themselves, than submit to its rigour[i]. This assembly was from its first formation a high court of judicature and state tribunal; and to it was confided the care of maintaining the existing government. An institution such as this is quite in the spirit of an aristocratical republic, in which state policy is the main support of the government; it is however too apt to degenerate into espionage and tyranny, as did the council of ten, and the state-inquisition connected with it, at Venice. The influence of individual members of an aristocracy, especially when invested with military command, soon excites the jealousy of the other rulers; such a tribunal[k] as this, therefore, is not so much raised against the people as against the aristocracy itself. It is likewise easy to comprehend how an institution like this would go

[i] Diodorus, ii, 412.
[k] Aristot. *Polit.* ii, 11.

beyond the purpose for which it was originally designed; especially, as it very naturally happened, that the most important affairs of state were generally first transacted in it. The testimony of Aristotle, who calls the council of the hundred the highest tribunal in the state, also confirms our view of the original formation of this assembly. It is true that he does not expressly say that this council was the same as the *gerusia*, nor on the other hand does he contradict it; and it seems therefore rather to follow from the expression just cited that it was, as we cannot see in what sense a centumvirate like this could have stood superior to the *gerusia*. But the formidable power necessarily under the command of a state-tribunal of this kind, elevated as it is above all that is great and powerful, and, what is almost inseparable from it in whatever form it may appear, even though its primary institution may be merely to repress luxury, the erecting itself into a censorship of public morals[1] render it frequently dangerous to that liberty which it is its peculiar duty to protect. This was the course which affairs took in Carthage. During the flourishing periods of the republic, the council certainly answered the end for

[1] The censorship of morals in Carthage was very strong. A single magistrate was appointed to the office whose power was so great that he even reprimanded and checked the general Hamilcar, as he interdicted him from following a suspicious connection. CORN. NEPOS, AMILCAR, c. 3. If this magistrate was not a magistrate of the *gerusia*, he certainly stood in a close connection with it.

which it was designed: the prevention of domestic revolutions in the state. Only two attempts of this kind are known to us, both of which failed[m]; and the great and permanent solidity which is universally ascribed to the Carthaginian government, was in some measure owing to this institution. In the latter period of the republic, however, its power degenerated into oppressive despotism, as will be shown in the last chapter of this inquiry.

As regards the internal organization of this council, we have a little more information. Its members, according to Aristotle, discharged the duties of their office without fee or reward. They were elected; yet neither by the people nor the larger senate, but by the *pentarchies*, or councils of five. What these were it is difficult to discover. They are only mentioned by Aristotle; but then it is with the addition that they managed many and the most important affairs of government, and that they filled up their own number. There were therefore not one, but several *pentarchies;* each of them, as the name implies, composed of five members. Aristotle adds that the members of these continued in office for a very long time; as it was necessary that they should hold some office before they could be elected into a *pentarchy*,

[m] The one already mentioned by Hanno, B. C. 340, which Aristotle knew of; and that by Bomilcar, DIODORUS, ii, 437, who did not die till 306, therefore after Aristotle's time.

which still they retained after they ceased to belong to that body[n]. Such is the sum of our information, which, though thus limited, affords some idea of the general character of these bodies. They were committees to which various and indeed the most important branches of the government were entrusted. What these branches were cannot be affirmed with certainty; but it is highly probable that the administration of finance, etc. were among them. It is not however probable that the government of the provinces fell within the number of their duties[o]. From all that we know of the Carthaginian state, and from what we have already stated, it appears that these were always confided to individual governors; and never to a council.—Again, it is certain that the *pentarchies* were closely connected with the *gerusia*, whose members they even elected. It seems indeed probable that they themselves were nothing more than committees chosen from the *gerusia;* for if all affairs of importance first came before that council, is it to be supposed that they would have transferred the management of them to any but members of their own body? This also best explains the statement of Aristotle that the members of the *pentarchies* remained very long in office, and took

[n] Aristot. l. c.

[o] Kluge *ad Aristotelem*, p. 120, etc. The reason which the author brings forward is the analogy of the ten men of Sparta; this however can have no great weight, as these were only military magistrates.

part in the government; because they must previously have belonged either to the *gerusia*, or at least to the larger senate, and afterwards have again become members of the *gerusia*. Although many of the above statements rest only upon conjecture, they appear to be highly probable; not merely from their agreement with all the other written accounts, but because they also are most in unison with the aristorcatic character of the government, which nearly approached to an *oligarchy*.

The duties of the Carthaginian senate, including both the larger and smaller body, seem upon the whole to have been of the same nature and extent as those of the Roman. There is no doubt that all business relating to foreign affairs was under its management. The official reports were delivered to it by the kings, who presided[p]. It received foreign ambassadors; it deliberated upon all matters of state; and its authority was then so great that it decided even upon war and peace: although, as a matter of form, the question was sometimes laid before the people[q]. Its power, therefore, seems to have been unlimited, so long as its decisions agreed with that of the *suffetes*. In this case it alone had the power of deciding whether the matter should be laid before the people. It was only when these two branches of the

[p] POLYBIUS, i, p. 456.

[q] POLYBIUS, i, p. 81, 456; iii, 498. DIODORUS, i, p. 412, 450; ii, p. 574, 679.

government could not agree that it was left for the people to determine[r]. The senate consequently held the greater part of the legislative power in its hands; nothing being brought before the people upon which it had not first deliberated; and the senate then determined whether or not it should be laid before the popular assembly. That to its care was confided the welfare and security of the city, and that it had the supreme direction of the public revenue, is probable from what has been said of the *gerusia*. It belonged essentially to the character of the aristocracy.

Aristotle, in comparing the Carthaginian with the Spartan constitution, finds another similarity, viz. between the *public meals of the companies*[s] and the Phiditia. But that the *syssitia* or clubs at Carthage were very different from the public tables of Sparta in which all the citizens, and even the kings were obliged to share, is however evident. How, in one of the most populous commercial cities of the world, which even at its fall numbered 700,000 inhabitants, composed of every variety and mixture of ranks, could such a regulation exist? On the other hand, social unions among the ruling class (which might perhaps have had some political tendency) are completely in the spirit of an aristocratical republic; and in a city so rich as Carthage they would become

[r] Aristot. *Polit.* ii, 11.

[s] Τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν.

connected, if not always, yet occasionally, with public banquets. Such assemblies I understand by the companies of Aristotle, and not a general division of the people. In free states political parties are naturally formed, and we know that there was no want of them in Carthage. The members of such parties required meetings unrestrained by ceremony or form (perhaps like the whig club in England), where they might come to an understanding among themselves; and from modern history we know, that in such political clubs determinations are often formed beforehand, which afterwards are sanctioned in the legitimate assemblies. How far this was the case at Carthage we cannot say with certainty; but traces of it are plainly to be discovered in its history. Deliberations among the nobles not only without form, but even in secret, are repeatedly mentioned by Polybius[t]. The evidence of Livy is still more to the purpose, in the passage where he states, that the plans and negotiations of Aristo, with the Barcine party, when sent to Carthage by the fugitive Hannibal, were debated first in societies and at banquets, and afterwards in the senate[u]. But we obtain most light upon this subject from a passage in the above-mentioned work of Theodorus Metochita. "The Carthaginians," says he, "transacted their state affairs by night; and in the evening and at night time

[t] Polyb. iii, p. 83; iv, 669.
[u] Livy, xxxiv, 61.

held their meetings and societies." That this cannot be understood of the regular meetings of the senate and people, which certainly were held by day and not by night, may be shown by many examples. If they were held by night, it was because the affairs required secrecy[x]. It can therefore only be understood of social meetings such as clubs or private societies; and which, in so hot a climate, might very naturally take place in the evening or night, and be connected with feasting; without our concluding therefrom that they were secret assemblies. These must not be confounded with the public entertainments which some of the nobles gave to the people[y].

At the head of the senate and republic were the kings, as they are called by the Greek writers; the Romans usually compare them with their consuls; their proper name was *suffetes*[z]. All that we know positively respecting them is that they were elected, and elected from the principal families; that they had the highest place in the senate, before whom they laid the subjects to be discussed; and that, on

[x] As the secret audience which the senate were obliged to give the ambassadors of Perseus. Liv. xli, 27.

[y] On this point I cannot concur in the opinion of Kluge upon Aristot. p. 45, though I agree otherwise with his view of the Syssites. The account of the banquet of Hanno (Justin, xxi, 4), intended for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the state has nothing to do with our subject. It was altogether of a different kind.

[z] Liv. xxx, 7. Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat. Festus: Suffes, consul lingua Pœnorum. The Schophetim of the Hebrews.

the whole, they possessed a high degree of power and influence[a]. Thus far we learn expressly from Aristotle; all beyond is left to conjecture. As Aristotle compares them with the Spartan kings, and Polybius with the Roman consuls[b], and both speak of them in the plural number, it certainly seems highly probable that there were always two reigning at the same time. That this was in fact the case we are not expressly informed by any contemporary writer[c], and those of later date have here but little authority; we might indeed be led to adopt the contrary supposition because only one king is frequently spoken of[d]; though this is not conclusive that there was not also a second. The same uncertainty exists respecting the duration of their office. It has generally been believed from the analogy of the Roman consuls, that they were changed every year; but little dependence is to be placed on the testimony of Nepos[e], upon which this opinion rests, as this writer is drawing a parallel between them and the Roman magistrates. On the other hand, there are strong reasons for supposing the contrary to be the case. Thus the name of kings (βασιλεῖς), by which the Greeks distinguished them, would indicate rather a

[a] Aristot. l. c.
[b] Polyb. ii, p. 562.
[c] See Corn. Nep. Hannib. cap. 7.
[d] As in Polyb. i, p. 456, 478.
[e] Corn. Nep. l. c.

ruler for life than one annually elected[f]. Besides, Aristotle, in comparing them with the Spartan kings, finds only *one* difference of importance between them; namely, that in Sparta the dignity was hereditary in two families, whilst in Carthage it depended upon election. Now had the Carthaginian kings been renewed yearly, would Aristotle have neglected to note so striking a difference? Would he in short have been justified in making the comparison at all? The same inference may be drawn from an expression of Polybius. "In Hannibal's army," says he, "was Hanno, the son of king Bomilcar[g]." Would he have thus distinguished him if his father had only been king for one year? The question however is decided, in my opinion, by a passage in the newly discovered work of Cicero, *De Re Publica*[h]. In this he compares the kings of Carthage with those of Rome, and contrasts them with the magistrates who were afterwards annually elected. How could he have done this if he had not been assured that this dignity continued for life?

It is sometimes stated of particular kings of the Carthaginians, "that they ruled according to law[i]." Whether this expression refers to the legitimacy of their power or its restriction by

[f] Although the second archon in Athens bore the title of βασιλεὺς (king), it happened, as is well known, because he had under his care the *sacra* of the ancient kings, and so far he stood in their place.

[g] Polyb. i, 478.

[h] Cicero *de Repub.* ii, 23.

[i] Diodorus, i, p. 685, ii, p. 574, κατὰ νόμους βασιλίνων.

law, or whether it denotes the king who administered affairs at home, as opposed to the one who acted as general abroad[k], I dare not venture to decide.

Next to the rank of king that of general was the highest in the republic. "In elections," says Aristotle[l], "and especially in those of the highest offices, such as kings and generals, respect is paid to the two qualifications of rank and wealth." It appears, therefore, that its government in one particular had a great superiority over the Roman. It kept distinct the military and civil power. The dignity of king and general was not regularly united, though several examples show that these offices were not incompatible with each other. But then the king could not enjoy the latter without the command being expressly conferred upon him[m]. At the close of the campaign his powers expired; and previously to a new one, a fresh nomination was necessary[n]. There are also examples of generals being made kings during their command[o]. That other foreign expeditions were also intrusted to the kings, is shown by the voyage of Hanno for the establishment of colonies on the western coast of Africa; who

[k] KLUGE *ad Aristot. Polit.* p. 92.

[l] ARISTOT. *Polit.* ii, 11.

[m] DIODORUS, i, p. 574. The elder Hannibal, ii, p. 14. Upon king Mago was conferred the command in Sicily.

[n] DIODORUS, ii, p. 412.

[o] DIODORUS, i, p. 685.

is expressly called king of the Carthaginians. At the same time we often meet with generals who were not kings; and Aristotle is therefore right in distinguishing them. Hannibal, in his treaty with Philip, calls himself general, and not king[p]. It would be superfluous to bring forward other examples.

The election of generals according to regular order first took place in the *gerusia*, and afterwards was brought before the senate and people[q]. If the army took upon themselves to nominate one of their commanders, it must only be considered an exception to the rule; and even in this case their nomination required the sanction of the senate and people. It was not unusual for several generals to be appointed when several armies were in the field[r]. The power of the Carthaginian generals does not appear to have been at all times the same. We have examples of unlimited authority being given them[s]; and probably even the title of general was conferred, as that of *imperator*, in the higher sense, among the Romans. At other times commissioners were delegated by the *gerusia* from their own body to attend the generals; and in their name, jointly with that

p Corn. Nep. *Hannib.* 7. is the only one who says of Hannibal, he had become *rex* at twenty-two years of age. This, however is evidently a blunder either of the writer or transcriber, and *rex* is put instead of *dux*; for we know that Hannibal at this age was created general.

q Polyb. i, 413.

r Polyb. i, 77.

s Polyb. i, p. 156; Diodorus, ii, 575.

of the generals, public affairs were transacted; though perhaps the power of the commander in military matters still remained unfettered[t]. But the high responsibility of the latter at their return made circumspection necessary; and therefore we often see them, before decisive undertakings, calling the other commanders to a council of war[u].

The Roman writers speak of prætors and quæstors among the Carthaginians[x]. But only once, and that an extraordinary case, when Hannibal after the war with Rome was placed at the head of the state, do we hear of a prætor. It does not therefore seem to have been a regular office in the republic. The quæstor, in close connection with the *gerusia*, had the management of all matters relating to the finances; but neither the duties of his office nor his proper title can be more accurately determined. Perhaps he was the chief of a pentarchy which conducted the affairs of the treasury.

Respecting the administration of justice in Carthage, our information is very scanty; we shall nevertheless be able to seize its general character. For this we are indebted to Aris-

[t] This was the case in the army of Hannibal, as is shown by the treaty with Philip. POLYB. ii, p. 598. It is well known that the same was done by the French national convention during the wars of the French revolution.

[u] Hannibal called to a council his brother Mago and the rest of the officers. POLYB. i, p. 538.

[x] LIVY, XXXiii, 46.

totle, who, though he is so brief in his remarks on the Carthaginian constitution as to be almost unintelligible, yet, in another part of his work, he explains himself somewhat more fully. "In some states", he says[y], "there is no body of citizens (δῆμος) and no popular assembly (ἐκκλησία), but only a senate (σύγκλητος), and lawsuits are decided solely by individuals (κατὰ μέρος), as is the case in Lacedemon, where civil suits (συμβολαῖα) are decided by the different ephors, criminal cases by the *gerusia*, and other magistrates perhaps determine other causes. It is just the same at Carthage, for there all lawsuits are decided by certain magistrates[z]." From

[y] Aristot. *Polit.* iii, 1.

[z] Aristot. *Polit.* iii, 1. Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικάς, ἑτέρα δ' ἴσως ἀρχή τις ἑτέρας τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ καρχηδόνα· πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. Compare ii, 9, καὶ (ἀριστοκρατικὸν) τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. The meaning of the latter of these passages (as to which the author expresses some doubt) is the same as of the former, viz. that at Carthage some one separate court (though doubtless sitting in distinct tribunals) decided all lawsuits, whether in the nature of civil causes, or cases of homicide, which in the ancient states were commonly left to be prosecuted by the kinsmen of the deceased; whereas at Sparta different species of lawsuits were distributed among different courts: cases of homicide being heard by the councillors, civil suits being apportioned in classes to particular ephors, cases of adoption and the marriage of heiresses belonging to the kings, etc. In Carthage every court had an universal jurisdiction: at Sparta the jurisdiction of each magistrate was limited to particular kinds of suits. The meaning of the former part of the passage translated in the text is, that in some states there is no large body of free citizens (i. e. the commons are in the power either of a narrow hereditary oligarchy, or of the public magistrates), nor is there a regular popular assembly, but the magistrates have the power of convening the people when they please, and lawsuits are decided not by the whole body of the people judging in rotation (as at Athens), but by a certain class or order of the community, κατὰ μέρος. See Arnold on Thucyd. ii, 37. *Note added to this translation.*

these statements it will at once appear that there was no judiciary assembly of the people at Carthage, as at Rome and Athens. This must certainly have prevented many evils; as popular tribunals formed one of the most dangerous and injurious institutions possessed by the free states of antiquity. The foregoing arrangement too was quite in the spirit of aristocracy, with which popular tribunals are incompatible. It farther appears from the passage quoted, that all lawsuits were decided in Carthage by magistrates and regular courts of justice. Respecting the constitution of these courts we have indeed little information, as Aristotle, our only authority, is here so very concise. He names expressly only one of these bodies, that of the *hundred and four*[a], which we must be careful to distinguish from that of *the hundred*, with which it is often confounded, although the difference is accurately marked. He compares it with the ephors of Sparta, and points out only this difference, that the latter were chosen from all classes of the people, while the hundred and four were chosen according to their merit. That this also was an aristocratic principle requires no proof; nor that the great dissimilarity in their number must have arisen from the great difference in the populousness of the two cities. From its being compared with the ephors, it is also plain that this board was a superior court for

[a] Aristot. ii, 11.

the decision of civil suits. As to its other powers we can offer little more than conjecture. It is probable that this board contained several subdivisions or sections, to which the examination of certain classes of lawsuits was intrusted, and that the sentence was afterwards pronounced in full assembly *(in pleno)*. Whether however to this *full assembly*, besides the *hundred and four*, all the remaining magistrates of Carthage belonged, admits of doubt[b]. Livy certainly says in one place, that the *suffetes* sat in judgment[c]; but I understood this as referring to the high tribunal of the hundred, or the *gerusia*, in which we know that they presided, and which took cognizance of treason, as did also the *gerusia* of Sparta, as we learn from the comparison of Aristotle, which is confirmed by history. That besides the board of the hundred and four, there were other courts of justice at Carthage not mentioned by Aristotle, can scarcely be doubted; but they are not known to us.

Such is the sum of our information respecting the constitution of Carthage during its flourishing period. The great rock upon which it split was the too powerful influence of wealth in procuring the highest offices of state, and, what was closely connected with it, the accumulation of many offices in one person[d]. The

[b] Kluge *ad Aristot. Polit.* p. 168.
[c] Livy xxxiv, 61.
[d] Both are remarked by Aristot. *Polit.* ii, 11.

ties however by which the whole state was knit together were too strong for the effects of these evils to be immediately felt,—religion was one of the most important of them, and must not be left unnoticed.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the same as that of their forefathers the Phœnicians[e]. It appears however to have undergone many changes on the coast of Africa; as the Carthaginians were not at all averse to the introduction of foreign gods[f]. But that it continued substantially the same is proved by the great veneration paid by the Carthaginians to the Tyrian Hercules, to whom they sent yearly embassies and offerings, and by their adherence to ancient and sometimes cruel rites, though greatly softened by the spirit of the age[g]. The

[e] See in particular the learned treatise of my friend: †Bishop D. Munter: *The Religion of the Carthaginians, the second and much improved edition, Copenhagen*, 1822, to which I refer for everything relating to religion, which does not come within the scope of the present work. But though we here speak of the religion of the southern nations, it must not be forgotten, that it here was always connected with fanaticism. How much this prevailed among the Carthaginians may be seen from the statement of Diodorus, i, p. 701, that three hundred men willingly devoted themselves to death as sacrifices.

[f] Thus the Carthaginians introduced the worship of Ceres from Sicily. Diodorus, i, p. 701. They sent ambassadors to the Delphic oracle, ii, p. 318.

[g] We know that the offering of human sacrifices was a native custom in Phœnicia and Carthage. According to Diodorus, ii, p. 415, it had gradually grown so much out of use, that only the children of slaves were clandestinely sacrificed; and it was only had recourse to in times of peculiar distress. The Romans, and other civilized nations of antiquity, practised it, and therefore it affords us no rule by which we can judge of their civilization. It is true that the number of human sacrifices was greater among the Carthaginians than among these nations; but what was it compared with the thousands

Greek and Roman writers commonly give the names of their own gods to those of the Carthaginians; and Hercules, Saturn, and Neptune were the first among them. The Carthaginian name of Hercules was *Melcart*, the tutelar deity of the city both in Carthage and Tyre; that of Saturn or Cronos, *Moloch* or *Bel*, already spoken of under the head of Babylon; but neither that of Poseidon or Neptune, nor that of Triton, both originally Libyan deities, are preserved. Besides these gods there was the goddess Astarte, frequently confounded with Aphrodite, or Venus, likewise of Phœnician origin. What objects or powers of nature were originally represented by these beings, and received the adoration of man, may be left to the learned in religious history to determine. The only question to be considered here is, whether, and how far, their religion was interwoven with the constitution and became a part of the government? Many passages show that this was the

destroyed by the Spanish inquisition! and these not merely children, not merely offered in the times of pressing calamity, as among the Carthaginians, when man in his despair sought and hoped to find deliverance! No one I hope will consider this remark as an endeavour to defend the practice of sacrificing human beings. I only wish to show that it requires but a modification of the same idea, to bring back in different ages, and even among civilized nations, the same horrors. The farther particulars upon this custom among the Carthaginians may be found collected by MUNTER, p. 17, etc. I place but little reliance upon later Roman writers with regard to what they relate of the more early periods. But as we read in BOWDICH and others, that the custom of offering human sacrifices even now prevails in Africa to a fearful extent, must not its origin lie still deeper? May not this custom originally be in some way connected with the slave trade?

case to a considerable degree. There was however no distinct order of priests, or religious caste, in Carthage as there was in Egypt. Neither do we find traces of any particular sacerdotal functions being hereditary in certain families. Nor have we any information as to the degrees of dignity in the hierarchy. But the offices of the priesthood were filled by the highest persons in the state, and had outward marks of honour attached to them; so that some of the most important of them were not deemed unworthy the sons of their kings[h]. Among these was doubtless the priesthood of Melcart, with which the religious missions, or *Theoriæ*, to the temple of the national god at Tyre were connected[i]. Indeed the most important public affairs were so intermingled with religious ceremonies, that it seems probable that the magistrates were also priests, or at least might become so. The generals were obliged to offer sacrifices even during the time of battle[k]. Prophets accompanied the armies, without whose advice nothing could be undertaken[l]. Public monuments of the greatest enterprizes were placed in the principal temples

[h] See the account of Cartalo the son of Malchus, in JUSTIN, lib. xvii, 7. When the worship of Ceres and Proserpine was introduced at Carthage, the principal men of the city were appointed as their priests. DIODORUS, i, 171.

[i] JUSTIN. l. c.

[k] As Hamilcar did in Sicily. DIODORUS, i, 699. And again, HEROD. vii, 167.

[l] DIODORUS, l. c.

of Carthage[m]; and the foundation of sanctuaries[n] was also connected with the planting of their foreign settlements, where care was taken, as has been shown in its proper place, to introduce the religion and form of worship of the mother country.

Imperfect as this account of the Carthaginian constitution is, and must remain, it is nevertheless sufficient to show its general character. In a commercial state, depending on a single city, little else could be expected than that the more opulent families would seize the government and form an aristocracy, of which the mainspring was the senate, which derived dignity from the splendour of its wealth and conquests, and which found its support in the mutual jealousy of its members, and the religion of the people. It was thus for a succession of centuries preserved unshaken, until after the first peace with Rome new circumstances and relations were introduced, which loosened the bands that had hitherto held the government together. How this change came to pass, and what were its consequences, will be explained in the last chapter of our inquiries respecting this republic.

[m] Like the voyage of Hanno which was inscribed in the temple of Saturn; and also the monuments which Hamilcar, the son of Mago, erected in the colonies, and particularly in the capital. HEEREN. l. c.

[n] As was the sanctuary of Neptune on the west coast of Africa by Hanno; and that of Hercules at New Carthage in Spain by Asdrubal.

CHAPTER IV.

Public Revenue of Carthage.

THE greatness and power of a conquering commercial state naturally depends in a great measure upon its finances. Of its most splendid undertakings many are altogether different from those of merely warlike nations; even its wars are carried on rather by its riches than its armies. What immense treasures Carthage must have expended in the foundation of her many colonies? And how much it must have cost her to maintain her numerous armies, almost entirely composed of mercenaries!

It would therefore be highly desirable to know whence these vast treasures flowed, the way in which they were managed, and how they were expended? But unfortunately upon these subjects we are left almost wholly in the dark. Scarcely one of the ancient writers has given us more than a few scattered hints respecting them.

Before however we discuss the revenue of a state, it is necessary to define accurately, in what its wealth consisted, and what were its most important expenses. Gold and silver were certainly the standard of value at Carthage; money, probably of both metals, was also coined there[a]. That the possession of the rich mines which they obtained brought a considerable quantity of the precious metals into their country is certain; but their wealth consisted quite as much in the produce of their industry. It has already been shown how diligently agriculture was followed among them; and in countries so highly favoured labour must have been abundantly rewarded. Not less important was the produce of their manufacturers and artizans. Many and indeed the most important expenses of the state were of a kind that never require to be paid in the precious metals. The expenses of the government in Carthage were

[a] Whether the Carthaginians stamped gold and silver coins is a question still doubtful. See ECKHEL *Doctrina Numm. Vet.* iv, p. 136. We are not without coins with Punic inscriptions, some of which were coined in the Sicilian cities, Panormus for instance, under the dominion of Carthage. Yet it still remains uncertain whether any coins are extant issued by the city of Carthage herself. But that in Carthage a gold coinage was current is clear from POLYBIUS, vol. i, p. 164, who mentions that the mercenaries should be paid with it. There is also the example of Hanno, who, after the loss of Agrigentum, was fined about six thousand pieces of gold. DIODORUS, vol. ii, p. 503. But it is not probable, that a commercial city like Carthage, whose colonies coined money should not have had any coinage herself. It may however be believed that the Carthaginians learned the art of coining from the Sicilian Greeks, who had brought it to the highest perfection. The Punic money extant was mostly coined in Sicilian cities. This in some degree explains, how the art might remain confined to these cities, without being exercised in the capital.

probably light. There, as well as in Rome, the offices of state were regarded as appointments of honour, and filled without pay. The chief expense of the nation was undoubtedly the maintenance of its fleets and armies; the latter, however, might be, and indeed, as will be shown, was effected in a great measure by payment in kind. Neither was their foreign trade carried on entirely by means of gold and silver; but to a considerable extent, perhaps the greater part, by barter.

Up to the time of the great conquests made in Spain by Hamilcar Barca, and his successors, the quantity of gold and silver, and also of coin at Carthage, was probably much less than might at first sight be supposed. These conquests were the means of increasing to a large amount the revenues and treasure of Carthage. The first peace with Rome, and the war with the mercenaries which followed, were both occasioned by want of money; a want which is never perceived after the conquests in Spain. Another circumstance also in the early history of Carthage clearly shows, if not the absolute, yet the relative want of a circulating medium composed of the precious metals.

Although the Carthaginians had in reality no paper money, or bank-notes, they had nevertheless a contrivance answering nearly the same purpose, and which existed also in some of the Greek commercial cities, as well as in some modern states,—namely, tokens. They are, in-

deed, in many places mentioned as a money of leather; but it is nowhere so clearly described as in the dialogue upon riches, attributed to Æschines the Socratic philosopher[b]. "We must look, however," says he, in the passage quoted, "to the sort of money. The Carthaginians make use of the following kind: in a small piece of leather a substance is wrapped of the size of a piece of four-drachmæ; but what this substance is no one knows except the maker. After this it is sealed and issued for circulation; and he who possesses the most of this is regarded as having the most money, and as being the wealthiest man. But if any one among us had ever so much, he would be no richer than if he possessed a quantity of pebbles." It follows from this description, that this money (which therefore by others is improperly called *leather-money*), was not, like the small coins, composed of copper or bronze, which would pass only for their intrinsic worth; but rather a representative of specie, upon which a fictitious value was bestowed in circulation, and which therefore out of Carthage was of no value. Another fact may be gathered from this description, namely, that it was only under the authority of the state that this money was stamped and issued. The seal was evidently a peculiar mark impressed by the state,

[b] See Æschinis *Dialogi c. Fischeri*, p. 78, ed. 3, where the other passages of Plato, Aristides, etc. are collected.

and which probably showed at the same time its current value. Finally, it is clear from the same account that they had found means to prevent its being imitated, since the manner of preparing it remained a secret. The words, "what was contained within the leather was unknown to all except the maker," cannot reasonably be supposed to mean that they had not a general knowledge of what it was, but rather that they were ignorant of its exact material. If it were, as may be supposed, a composition of metals, their proportions remained a state secret. The great disadvantages arising from the forgery of representative money are too obvious, not to call forth immediately the exercise of ingenuity as far as possible to prevent it.

The revenues of Carthage flowed from various sources, and were of various kinds; to gain therefore a complete knowledge of them we must divide them into classes, and examine them in detail.

In a conquering state, with such extensive possessions, the tribute paid by dependent nations, must necessarily have been a most important branch of the public revenue. They were not however in all parts the same; and in Africa itself the contributions paid by the cities were widely different from those of the country[c]. These towns were situated along the coast, and were mostly opulent places of

[c] This distinction is clearly pointed out by POLYBIUS, vol. i, p. 179.

trade; it is therefore natural to suppose that they paid their taxes either in money or in the precious metals. The territory of Carthage had its coast covered with a succession of towns whose number alone must have given them importance. But the largest contributions were drawn from the towns around the lesser Syrtis, in the district of Emporia: a specimen of their value is shown in the quota of Little-Leptis[d], that town alone paying a talent daily to the capital[e]. The amount of these taxes seem in general to have been fixed and certain; but in time of war they were so much increased, as easily to account for the disaffection of some of those towns towards Carthage[f].

Very different was the tribute collected in the open country, and the settlements founded therein. The tribes which inhabited these regions were, as we have seen above, employed in husbandry, and, as was very natural, paid their tribute in the produce of their industry[g]. And this was also the case with the foreign provinces, especially Sardinia. Many passages prove that the tribute here was paid in kind[h]; and that a part was stored up in the country for the use of the army, part sent to Carthage,

[d] An important passage upon this will be found in Polyb. vol. iv. p. 547.

[e] Livy, xxxiv, 62.

[f] An example of it is mentioned in Polyb. vol. i, p. 179.

[g] Polyb. l. c.

[h] See the foregoing section upon Sardinia.

where it was stowed in large magazines for the same purpose[j]. To what extent this tribute was levied in peaceable times is unknown, but examples are not wanting to prove that, in cases of need, they were raised sometimes even to half the produce[k]. Can we wonder then that the seeds of discontent should take root here; or that every insurrection and foreign invasion of the territory of Carthage should teem with so much danger to that republic?

Another principal source of the Carthaginian revenue seems to have been the customs, which were collected as well in the ports of the colonies as in those of the capital itself. In the commercial treaties between Carthage and Rome[l] still extant, the conditions under which foreigners could enter some of the Carthaginian ports are defined with great precision. We are informed by Aristotle, that in their treaties with the Etrurians, it was accurately stipulated what commodities might or might not be imported. That these duties were very heavy is proved by the contraband trade; which was very considerable between Cyrenaica and the commercial towns of Carthage[m]. Indeed, in the last period of the republic, the customs seem to have been the most important branch of the revenue. The thorough reformation of the finances which

[j] Polyb. vol. i, p. 178. Appian, i, p. 435.
[k] Polyb. vol. i, p. 179.
[l] Aristot. *Polit.* iii, 9. *Op.* ii, p. 261.
[m] Strabo, p. 1193.

Hannibal effected at the conclusion of the second Roman war, when he was placed at the head of the government, consisted chiefly in his regulating the sea and land customs, which became so important, that without the imposition of any new tax upon individuals, they supplied all the wants of the state[n].

A third, and perhaps in later times, the most fruitful source of the public revenue, was its mines. The Carthaginians inherited from their forefathers a propensity to seek for the precious metals; and as they succeeded them in the possession of the countries which contained them, it was natural that they should again work the mines which they there found already opened. Spain, the country in which they chiefly, if not exclusively abounded, is mentioned in our inquiries respecting the Phœnicians, and has already been spoken of in the present work. Its chain of mountains, stretching across the southern part of that kingdom, seems to have been particularly rich in metals; in gold and iron, but especially in silver. We learn also from Diodorus[o], that the inventions and ingenuity of man, was brought to aid his industry in working the mines. That it was carried to a vast extent we may be assured from the statement of the same writer, that

[n] Livy, xxxiii, 47. Annibal postquam vectigalia quanta terrestria maritimaque essent, et in quas res erogarentur, animadvertit etc. The words plainly show, that the vectigalia were the real customs.

[o] Diodorus, i, p, 359, etc.

"all the mines which were known in his times were opened by the Carthaginians[p]." There must however have been a great difference in this respect in the period before and after the great accession of territory obtained by the victories of the family of Barca. The mines which they possessed in the infancy of their power, were probably limited to Bœtica, or the country near the Guadalquiver, the ancient colony of the Phœnicians; the mountains in the territory of Castulo, not far from Cordua, the present Sierra Morena, are celebrated for their riches[q]; but the conquests of Hamilcar Barca having been undertaken principally with a view to extend these establishments, we find, after his victories, that the richest mines lay in the neighbourhood of New Carthage (Carthagena), the new capital built by the Carthaginians in this European Peru. They were situated, according to the accounts of Polybius[r], about three miles from the city, and were in his time, when the Romans had become masters of it, so considerable as to employ forty thousand slaves, and to give a daily produce estimated at twenty-five thousand drachmas[s]. A certain Aletes is said to have discovered them, and met with more gratitude from the Carthaginians than

[p] Diodorus, i, p. 360.

[q] Polyb. vol. iii, p. 277. It is nevertheless remarkable, that Diodorus places the most ancient mines of Spain in the Pyrenees. Or is this only the general name for the mountains in that place?

[r] Polyb. vol. iii, p. 208.

[s] About 2000*l*.

the discoverer of the mines of Potosi did from the Spaniards. A temple next to those of Æsculapius and Vulcan, was erected to him in New Carthage, in which he was venerated as a demigod by a grateful posterity[t].

Whom the Carthaginians employed to work these mines we are not told: whether they sent slaves there for that purpose, as the Romans did afterwards, or employed the natives who were themselves miners[u]. Probably, as the number of slaves among them was so great, they did both. Nor are we better informed to whom the mines belonged—whether to private individuals or to the state. The fact that the Carthaginians were enabled by them to pay their numerous armies and to carry on their great wars, renders it indeed probable that, to a certain degree, they were the property of the state. In opposition to this, however, we find examples of some of them being in the possession of the great families, who worked them for their own profit[x].

The foregoing were the ordinary revenues of the state; but in pressing circumstances other means were resorted to. Thus we find the republic during her first war with Rome, en-

[t] Polyb. l. c.

[u] Diodorus, l. c. What Diodorus says of the slaves there who worked them, is not to be understood of the times previous to the Roman.

[x] This is very certain so far as regards the Barcine family, from the use which they made of the Spanish treasures as bribes. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 6, remarks, that Hannibal derived a large income from one of his mines.

deavouring to procure a foreign loan; for which purpose an embassy was sent to Ptolemey Philadelphus, but failed in its object[y]. Privateering was another means which the Carthaginians sometimes had recourse to, and of which Aristotle gives us a remarkable example. "The Carthaginians having numerous mercenaries in their city, whose pay they were unable to discharge, devised the following measure; they gave notice that if any citizen or resident alien had, or wished to have, a license to make reprisals on any foreign state or individual, he should register his name. In consequence of this many persons having registered, plundered with a fair pretext all ships sailing into the open sea, a time being appointed for giving an account of the prizes. A large sum of money having been thus collected the soldiers were paid and dismissed, and a judicial inquiry was made respecting the prizes, after which a satisfaction was made from the public revenue to those who had been unjustly plundered[z]."

[y] APPIAN, i, p. 92. They requested about two thousand talents (about 400,000*l.*); Ptolemey refused it; but offered his mediation. He stood in a friendly relation with Rome as well as with Carthage, and a loan to either of the states would probably have been regarded as a breach of his neutrality.

[z] ARISTOT. *Op.* vol. ii, p. 384. [In the passage of the Œconomics referred to (ii, 2, 10.) the author has been deceived by the reading of the common editions Καρχηδόνιοι, instead of the right reading Καλχηδόνιοι, which Schneider has restored form the Leipsig manuscript. The words, which after the German have been rendered "into the open sea," evidently signify "into the Euxine sea" (εἰς τὸν Πόντον), at the mouth of which

A remarkable instance of the Carthaginian maritime law. Under the mask of reprisals a piracy was carried on, in which the state made itself the accuser, the judge, and the executioner. Might we not almost take this for the model of a prize court in modern Europe?

From this enumeration of the known sources of the revenues of Carthage, and from the little that we do know respecting this state, it may clearly be seen of how much we still remain ignorant! With regard to all that concerns the administration of the revenue, we are unfortunately left in the dark. From what we have said above of the gerusia, it appears to have had the general direction of the public revenue; we may also venture to regard it as more than probable that one of the pentarchies, with a magistrate at its head, whom the Romans called *quæstor*, formed a board for its immediate management. But how many questions still remain which we either cannot answer at all, or at best only by conjecture? Before whom did the managers lay their accounts? Who fixed the taxes; was it the people, or, as seems most probable, the senate? But it is better to confess our ignorance than to advance empty conjectures. Even the little that might be deduced

Chalcedon was situated. The whole narration is therefore inapplicable. See SCHNEIDER's notes on the passage, and GAISFORD on ARISTOT. *Rhet.* i, 12, 18. *Note added to this translation.*]

from the passage of Livy already mentioned[b] would only perhaps lead us to false conclusions; since he only speaks of *abuses*, from which we cannot infer the state of things during the flourishing period of the republic.

[b] Livy, xxxiii, 45, 46.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Navigation and Maritime Commerce of Carthage.

The situation of Carthage appears to have determined both the general course and extent of her commerce. It consisted of a land and sea-trade. The following chapter will be dedicated to the former; the present will be devoted to the discussion of the latter.

The groundwork for our researches on this subject has already been laid in the accounts which we have given of the foreign possessions and settlements of the Carthaginians. If it be true, as we have shown it to be in treating of the Phœnicians, that it is the genius of all great maritime nations to make their colonies the principal seats of their trade, the same might naturally be expected to hold of the Carthaginians. The peculiarities, however, in the relations of Carthage with her colonies, which have already been developed, will explain some deviations from this general principle, which would otherwise seem extraordinary. Every individual who has discovered a profitable branch of industry, endeavours as much as possible to keep

his discovery secret; it seems then natural that states, with so much greater means in their power, should have a similar feeling. That jealousy therefore which exists in trading communities, is not the effect of a refinement in general politics, but springs up with the first efforts of commerce; hence we may expect to find that the ancient states devised various plans for securing a monopoly of trade. By no other trading people of antiquity do we find this policy carried to a greater length than by the Carthaginians; no other indeed could maintain its colonies in such strict dependence; an advantage which enabled her to keep her trade so entirely to herself, and to preserve it for so long a time.

If we still possessed copies of that succession of alliances and treaties which Carthage concluded with foreign powers, we should be able still more distinctly to trace the principles of her commercial policy. From the fragments, however, which are left, we clearly see that she was too selfish to allow of foreign participation where it could be avoided, although she was at times sufficiently yielding to give up a part rather than risk the whole.

The city of Carthage was the capital and mistress of the state, and the people or citizens of Carthage the ruling body. The colonies on the contrary, served merely as staples for trade, planted on foreign coasts. Hence the maxim naturally arose to make the capital the centre

of commerce, and to prohibit its colonies from trading farther than was consistent with the interest of the capital. This will at once show the motive which led Carthage to those jealous restrictions imposed upon her colonies; and will account for the remarkable fact, that no instance occurs of one of them ever becoming a great commercial city. Had the parent city allowed these the exercise of a free trade, it would have been impossible for her to have prevented their rise, or to have maintained her authority over them.

The harbours of the capital were open to the vessels and merchants of foreign nations, according to the treaties entered into respecting them; to all the remaining ports in the territory of the republic in Africa admission was either altogether forbidden, or rendered extremely difficult. To those places alone where a competition in trade could not be prevented, as in Sicily, was access permitted to foreigners; but in such cases only under very severe restrictions. Foreign trade was carried on under the inspection of the government; officers were appointed to superintend it, and the money due to the seller was guaranteed by the state[a].

However selfish this policy may appear, it is

[a] Proofs of this remark are contained in the first two treaties with Rome, already often mentioned. From them it is evident that the gulf in which Carthage lay, as well as all the rich and fertile eastern coast belonging to it, was altogether prohibited to the Romans.

not unexampled in modern times; but among the Carthaginians there existed special reasons for adopting it.

First, the greater part of their trade being carried on with barbarous nations, consisted in barter; and here competition is most to be dreaded. So long as the savage is kept in ignorance, he is ready to exchange his goods for the merest trifles, because he knows not their true value; but every rival open his eyes by offering him double, nay, sometimes tenfold, for his commodities. To allow free trade to their colonies, and open their ports to foreigners, was in other words to destroy their own market.

Again, Africa and Sardinia were the granaries whence Carthage drew food for her numerous armies. The less therefore the other countries on the Mediterranean cultivated their lands, the greater must have been the disadvantage to the republic of a free trade, and of course a free exportation of corn.

We may then fairly conclude, that the policy of Carthage, however paltry and selfish it may seem in a general point of view, was imposed upon her by circumstances. I shall now take a survey of the principal branches of her maritime commerce; premising only a few remarks upon the manner in which it was carried on.

The Pœnulus of Plautus shows[b] how usual

[b] Act V, Sc. 2, v. 54, etc. The patriotism and national pride which

it was among the maritime nations of antiquity, when commerce by commission was yet in its infancy or altogether unknown, for the merchant not only to trade in his own vessels, but even to carry his wares from place to place. This seems to have been the case with the Carthaginians, and in some degree proves, that their ruling families could scarcely apply themselves to commerce. These voyages of the merchant rendered some arrangement necessary for his reception among strangers; and this led the Carthaginians to adopt a law or alliance of hospitality in use among the Greeks, as the form of that people was most current among the Greek cities. This was sometimes practised by individuals towards individuals, and sometimes by whole cities towards individuals. It was customary for men to exchange certain *tokens*, the production of which secured them the rights of hospitality; and it is in this manner that the Carthaginian merchant in Plautus shows his token of hospitality at Calydon in Ætolia[c]. This was also frequently the case in many other Greek cities of the mother-country, but more especially in the colonies.

Plautus, judging from the translation of Bellermans, attributes to the Carthaginian merchant should not pass unnoticed.

[c] l. c. v. 85.——Si ita est, tesseram
Conferre si vis hospitalem: eccam attuli.

The words of the Carthaginian merchant. The *tessera hospitalis* of Malta, still extant, does not bear upon our subject, as it was sent by the Greek city in this island, to a Greek in Syracuse. See the explanation in Bres *Malta Antica*, p. 192, etc.

Notwithstanding Carthage preserved a close correspondence with her parent state, and notwithstanding the intercourse which she maintained with Greece, with Egypt,—especially in the time of the Ptolemeys,—and with Cyrene, she seems never to have had much share in the commerce of the eastern part of the Mediterranean: the competition here was perhaps too great, or perhaps she had not a sufficient number of colonies in this quarter; though her trade with the parent state, so long as that maintained its splendour, could not have been inconsiderable. To counterbalance this, Carthage coveted the exclusive possession of the commerce of the western Mediterranean; and although the jealousy of many powerful rivals in Massilia, Italy, and Sicily, prevented her obtaining it, she nevertheless bent the whole force of her policy to preserve her station among them; and probably obtained more by this means than by outward force her decided superiority over them.

Sicily and Southern Italy were the first points to which her navigation was directed. Carthaginian merchants had settled in Syracuse, as well as in other Greek cities, whose harbours were always full of their ships[d]. These fertile countries found Carthage the best market for their commodities, especially for their oil and wine, both of which they pro-

[d] Diodorus, i. p. 678.

duced of an excellent quality[e]; and this the rather because the Carthaginians could advantageously dispose of the wine in Cyrene, where they exchanged it for silphium, a contraband article[f]. Vineyards are mentioned as having been cultivated in some parts of ancient Africa[g], and olives flourished, at least in the Carthaginian territory; they were not however sufficiently abundant to supply the great consumption, especially of the armies, though they might perhaps have sufficed for the wants of the capital. Had Carthage ever obtained the entire possession of Sicily, this trade alone would have indemnified her for all her expenses: the immense wealth which it gave to the towns of Sicily and Italy is sufficiently known.

That an active commerce existed between Carthage and the other nations of Italy, the Etrurians and Romans, is shown by the many commercial treaties contracted by them[h]. A great part of these related to the suppression of *piracy*, at that time carried on by all maritime nations, but particularly by the Romans and Etrurians. This not only increased the kidnapping of slaves, then in general use, but was so little thought of, that unless express treaties to the contrary had

[e] Diodorus, i, p. 606.
[f] Strabo, p. 1193.
[g] Diodorus, l, xx, ii, p. 411. Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 55, ed *Huds.*
[h] Aristot. *Polit.* iii, cap. 6.

been made, it was not even regarded as an act of hostility. The Romans expressly engaged in their commercial treaties not to plunder on the coast of Carthage; and the Carthaginians engaged to spare the coast of Italy belonging to the Romans and Latins: they were not to retain the towns there not subject to the Romans, although they had taken and pillaged them; and prisoners captured could not be brought into Roman seaports for sale, as every free Roman had the privilege of reclaiming them as free persons[i]. So variously are modified the principles of national law in different ages.

The Etrurians appear to have been in general rather pirates than merchants. But when their maritime cities are mentioned, it is not so much the cities of Etruria Proper as their colonies in the south of Italy that are meant. Etruria Proper never possessed any known harbour except Populonum; all its great cities were in the interior, consequently, navigation could never have been its principal pursuit. This nation, however, had not only extended itself over the south of Italy, but also over the smaller islands in the Mediterranean. All their great expeditions, if we believe the express testimony of Polybius, were fitted out from their cities in southern Italy[k]; and the little islands, especially those of Liparæ, served as stations for privateering squadrons.

[i] Polyb. vol. i, p. 438.
[k] Ibid. i, p. 260.

The articles of commerce which the Carthaginians gave in exchange, were black slaves from the interior of Africa, who, from the earliest times, were highly esteemed in Italy and Greece[l], precious stones, gold, and Carthaginian manufactures. The inhabitants of Italy bartered for these the product of their soil and industry, which have been already mentioned.

Malta, even in the times of Scylax, as well as the neighbouring islands of Gaulos and Lampedusa, was inhabited by Carthaginians[m], and had, even thus early, risen to distinction by its trade and manufactures. It was celebrated in antiquity for the beautiful cloths which it produced, equally distinguished for their fineness and their softness[n]. As the cotton-tree is a native of this island[o] it can scarcely be doubted that this was the material of which these fabrics were composed. They formed an important article in the trade with the African tribes.

Lipara and the adjoining islands, were also soon brought under the Carthaginian yoke, and

[l] TERENT. *Eunuch*, i, 2.

[m] SCYLAX, p. 50. Gaulos is the present Gozzo.

[n] DIODORUS, i, p. 339.

[o] Three sorts of cotton are now cultivated at Malta: that of Siam, that of the Antilles; and the native. They are manufactured on the island, especially at Gozzo. *Modern picture of Malta*, vol. iii, p. 9. The old capital of Melita, the present *Città Vecchia* is in the centre of the island. The woven goods of Carthage were in general very celebrated. Polemon, a Greek, wrote a separate treatise on the subject: περὶ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πέπλων, ATHEN. xii, p. 541.

their produce also helped to enrich their conquerors. Its most valuable article of commerce was resin, which was exported to many parts: upon this and the well-frequented hot-baths the prosperity of these islands chiefly depended. Diodorus informs us that on one of the smaller islands the Carthaginians, during the war with Syracuse, exposed a number of mutinous mercenaries to perish with hunger[p].

Corsica produced an abundance of wax and honey; its slaves were esteemed superior to all others[q].

The small island of Æthalia, the present Elba, was very early celebrated for its inexhaustible stores of iron, whence the fable arose that the ores grew again[r]. It was refined upon the island in large furnaces, and in that state exported by the merchants, or manufactured into various implements[s].

The Balearic islands, Majorca and Minorca, although their inhabitants were perhaps not entirely dependent upon Carthage, were yet of great importance to her commerce. The uncivilised natives, probably taught by the example of the neighbouring countries, refused absolutely to permit either gold or silver among them; this, however, offered no obstacle to a profitable traffic being carried on by barter. Their indulgence in sensual pleasures made wine

[p] Diodorus, l. c. [q] Ibid.
[r] Aristot. *Mirab.* p. 194, ed. *Beckm.*
[s] Diodorus, i, p. 340.

and female slaves always saleable among them; so that even the mercenary troops who served in the Carthaginian armies were ready at any time to exchange their pay for these articles[1]. Fruit and beasts of burden, especially mules, of which a very beautiful kind was bred here, were their native product. The neighbourhood of Spain, only one day's sail distant, made these islands the best station for carrying on a commerce with that country, and of course increased their value.

That Spain, so rich in natural productions, was always one of the most profitable places to which Carthaginian vessels traded, that its mines formed one of the principal sources of the Carthaginian revenue, and that the intercourse maintained with the tribes of Spain, as well Phœnician as native, was of great importance to the republic of Carthage, has already been shown. The inhabitants of this country had attained just that degree of civilization which made them acquainted with foreign commodities, and led them to covet their possession, without having taught them the art of manufacturing for themselves. The Carthaginians must therefore have found here a ready sale for their manufactures; especially as their connections, proved by the number of Spanish troops in their pay, extended over all the

[1] Diodorus, i, p. 343, 344. He estimates the number of inhabitants at thirty thousand. The demand for female slaves was such, that the price of a woman was three or four times greater than that of a man.

peninsula. Besides this, Carthage seems to have carried on, across Spain, a trade with the ruder Gauls; and in this way because she had not a single colony on their coast, and the Massilians would scarcely permit their vessels, except under heavy restrictions, to enter their harbours. The early intercourse of Carthage with Gaul is proved by the great number of mercenary troops which she had from that country, who, in the very earliest period, fought in her armies; and likewise by her jealousy of Massilia, which she so much wished to destroy.

Their ancestors, the Phœnicians, had already opened the way for them beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and they continued and extended the trade begun by these navigators. Respecting the boundaries of the Phœnician and Carthaginian trade so much has been written, conjectured, and fabled, that not only the judicious historical inquirer, but even the boldest lover of hypothesis, could scarcely add anything new. If indeed all the geographical obscurities could be completely cleared up, it would still be impossible to separate the enterprises of the proper Phœnicians from those of the Carthaginians, beyond what a general determination of the time will allow; since neither of these nations were distinguished in ancient times by their proper names. This particularly applies to their navigation along the European coast; the accounts respecting their exertions in the west of Africa are much more accurately determined.

The republic had a number of colonies on the western coast of Spain, and maintained an intimate connection with Gades[u]. This circumstance alone would show that their ships were wont to visit the western coast of Europe, even if the tin and amber trade, in which they took a part, did not prove it beyond contradiction. What I have to say on the subject is thrown together in the following remarks, in which I neither seek to contradict nor defend the opinions of others.

First, when we speak of tin we mean by it that metal, which among the Greeks was called *cassiteros*. That this metal was the same as our tin is a fact, which, according to the judgment of mineralogists, cannot indeed be denied, although it cannot be proved with scientific accuracy, as is also the case with many other productions of the ancient world, of which the classical writers have not given us technical definitions. When, however, we consider that the same countries which produced *cassiteros* produce tin, but no other metal of similar value or quality, and that the little said of it by ancient writers does not at all contradict the supposition of its identity with that metal, there seems every probability that it really was such. The farther investigation, however, of this question, does not belong to my subject, and I willingly refer the reader

[u] See above, chap. ii, p. 100.

to another writer who has examined it with all the accuracy which the scanty accounts will permit[x].

Farther, this metal which I may now be permitted to call tin, was, according to the express evidence of antiquity, found in various countries of western Europe: first, in the north of Spain[y]; secondly, in Britain; and again, in the islands called from it *Cassiterides*, which, though all the circumstances mentioned by the ancients do not agree, can be no other than the Scilly islands[z]. I am ignorant whether tin is still found there; but in former times they produced not only tin but also lead[a], though they derived their name from the former, of which they were the principal market; for the tin which was raised in Britain was carried to the small islands lying off the Lands-end, accessible to wagons at the time of ebb tide[b]. That such small islands were the usual emporiums and marts of the Carthaginians will be presently confirmed by another example.

Finally, with respect to the course of this

[x] BECKMANN'S *History of Inventions*. It is here first shown, that the Latin *stannum* may be different from the *κασσίτερος*. The former is what in the German smelting houses is called *werk*, the latter is the *plumbum album* of the Romans, PLINY, xxxiv, 17, etc. The writer thinks it probable that *cassiteros* was tin, without attempting strictly to prove it. Some chemical inquiry upon ancient works of art it is to be hoped will lead us to certainty.

[y] STRABO, p. 219.

[z] MANNERT, vol. i, p. 412.

[a] STRABO, 265.

[b] DIODORUS, i, p. 347. He here mentions the island *Irtica*; probably now become a part of the mainland, or may it not perhaps be *Bresan*?

trade, we are told by Strabo, that in early times it was carried on from Gades by the Phœnicians[c]. It seems therefore that the part which the Carthaginians at first took in it, was only that of carriers; though, from their usual manner of trade, and the extent of their navigation, it is probable that they sailed directly to the countries which produced this metal. Upon this particular, however, we can fortunately speak with certainty, as Avienus has preserved an account of it from Himilcon's voyage[d]. The *Æstrymnian* islands (as he calls the Cassiterides by their earliest, probably Phœnician, name) abound in tin and lead. Their numerous inhabitants are proud and ingenious, and devote themselves entirely to commerce, gliding over the sea in their frail canoes, formed not of wood but of hides. In two days' sail from them is the *sacred island*, inhabited by the nation of Hibernians; but the island of the Albioncs is close at hand. The Tartessians were the first traders to the Æstrymnian islands, though the colonies and the people of Carthage about the Pillars of Hercules navigate these seas: the voyage, as Himilcon informs us, taking four months; he himself having attempted and proved it. This passage throws much light upon the extent and

[c] Strabo, p. 265. By Phœnicians we must here understand, as is shown by the context, Carthaginians and Gaditani.

[d] Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 95—125 and 375, etc. See a translation in the Appendix.

manner of this trade. It was principally the Tartessians, that is the Phœnician colonists in Spain, and above all in Gades, who performed these voyages. Carthage, however, and her settlements also, took an active part, and Himilcon himself had stretched his course, whether for trade or discovery, to the same place. It is easy to account for its taking four months, as we learn from his own narrative that it was a coasting voyage, and that the progress of the vessel was often obstructed by sea weeds, no one daring to stretch out into the open main. The Cassiterides, or Scilly islands, were certainly the object; but the intercourse with them comprised also the neighbouring Hibernia and Albion, the inhabitants of the Cassiterides frequenting those islands in their canoes. It is not however probable that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians failed to visit them. From what Strabo says, it may be inferred that an active commerce existed on the British coast, as he informs us that the manners of its native tribes were rendered milder by their long and frequent intercourse with strangers; from which statement it is probable that the Carthaginians had settlements on the British coast, without which a long stay there would have been scarcely possible. The commerce here, as well as in the Scilly islands, was carried on by barter. Earthenware, salt, and iron tools, were the commodities with which the mer-

chants supplied them[e]: the trade, however, till the time of the Romans, was kept by the Carthaginians as secret as possible; although they were not successful in keeping away all competitors. The way which the Phœnicians found out by sea the Massilians found out by land, along the shore as far as the British channel; and conveyed this metal, so much in request, across Gaul to their own city on the mouth of the Rhone, a journey of thirty days[f].

The geographical statements of the ancients thus far, are so precise, that I really see no well-grounded objection to the above remarks. The case, however, is widely different when we approach the amber trade *(electrum)*. A detailed inquiry into this subject would require a distinct treatise, which will scarcely be expected here; and even that could only end in mere conjecture. Every circumstance respecting it was so mystified by fable, that the whole has become enveloped in an obscurity which was never completely penetrated, even at the time when the clearest information was obtained respecting the tin islands. This fact alone shows that the country in which amber abounded, was more remote than that which produced tin. It is however incorrect to confine this trade to a single place; as from the accounts of Pliny it plainly appears that amber was a native of many countries or islands in the north

[e] Strabo, l. c. [f] Diodorus, i, p. 348.

of Europe: All the districts of Scandinavia were famous for producing it[g]. I see no reason then, though still confining ourselves to a coasting navigation, why that daring nation, which doubled the cape of Good Hope, and sailed from Tyre to Britain, might not also have reached the Samlandic coast, the native country of amber, as many traces, though certainly of a dubious nature, seem to attest. I dare not, however, attempt here the solution of this obscure problem of antiquity. He who endeavours to elicit rigid historical truth out of fabulous geography, pursues a phantom which will always elude his grasp. The ancient river Eridanus was entirely fictitious, and existed only in the tradition of the vulgar, and the imagination of poets. I see not what can be gained whether we take it for the Rhine or the Raduna. Its name may signify either one or the other.

The navigation of Carthage on the western coast of Africa has already been proved in the account of the colonies founded there. We have only now to consider its course, and in what manner the Carthaginians turned these colonies to advantage.

The colonies of the republic known to us, reaching as far as the island of Cerne, were all planted on the coast of Morocco and Fez. A commercial intercourse with the neighbouring

[g] PLINY, iv, 13. Compare DIODORUS, i, p. 348.

African tribes was the purpose for which they were all founded; but the great mart was the island of Cerne. The merchant vessels of Carthage here anchored to unlade their goods; tents were pitched upon the island; and light vessels conveyed their wares to the continent. The inhabitants of this part of the coast were a dark, pastoral race, with long hair; remarkable for the beautiful symmetry of their figure; the tallest among them they elected as king. They delighted in finery, and were all expert riders and bowmen. The trade was carried on by barter. The Carthaginians brought various kinds of finery for the women, and harness for the horses, cups, large earthen vessels, wine, and Egyptian linen. They received in exchange elephant's teeth, and hides of tame and savage beasts. There is even a town of this people mentioned; from which we may conclude that at least a part of them had forsaken the nomad life[h].

To these branches of commerce may be added, as we learn from another source, a profitable fishery[i]. The fish was salted and conveyed to Carthage, where it became so highly esteemed, that its exportation was prohibited.

Beyond this, said the Carthaginians, it was impossible to sail. The sea becomes so full of

[h] SCYLAX, p. 54. Were these Tuarics? Every particular agrees with them.

[i] The species of fish was called *thynnus*, in the present system *scomber thynnus*. See ARISTOT. *de Mirab.* cap. 148, with BECKMANN's note.

shallows, and so covered with floating weeds, that navigation is obstructed[k]. Can it however be believed, that the Carthaginians stopped short on this poor coast, and discovered not the way to the rich gold countries which are found about the Senegal? They could hardly indeed be blamed if their jealousy had been successful in keeping this secret from the world: it has, however, been betrayed.

Even Hanno's voyage of discovery, as has been already shown, extended to the Senegal and Gambia. But it was a mere voyage of discovery. The rudeness of the inhabitants prevented him from entering into trade. But that deep inquirer, Herodotus, whose thirst of information led him to discover so much, discovered this secret of the gold-trade.

"The Carthaginians state," says he[l], "that they are wont to sail to a nation beyond the Pillars of Hercules on the Libyan coast. When they come there, they transport their wares on shore, where they leave them, and after kindling a fire go back to their ships. Upon this signal the natives come down to the sea, and placing gold against the wares, again retire. The Carthaginians then again approach, and see whether what they have left be sufficient. If it be they

[k] SCYLAX, l. c. These floating weeds, *fucus natans*, or *sargossa*, are still found, in the manner described by the ancients, about the Canary islands; and among them there are usually a great number of fish. See BECKMANN, as before cited.

[l] HEROD. iv, cap. 196.

take it and depart: should it, however, not be enough for their wares, they again go back to their ships and wait; and the other party bring more gold until the strangers are satisfied. But neither party deals unfairly by the other; for the one touches not the gold till the value of the wares be brought, nor the other the wares until the gold be taken away."

Herodotus has frequently been accused of credulity till successive centuries have established his authenticity, and such is the case here. We certainly knew not till now his perfect accuracy respecting this dumb trade; which is proved to be carried on in the gold countries about the Niger.

"The inhabitants of Morocco," says Hoest[m], send usually, once a year, a caravan to the frontiers of Guinea, namely to Tombuctoo, where they exchange tobacco, salt, raw wool, woollen cloths, silk stuffs, and linen of all sorts, for gold dust, negroes, and ostrich feathers. This caravan is composed of some hundreds of camels, the greater part of which carry nothing but water, as on that side of Suz not a drop is to be found for twenty days' journey[n]. They

[m] HOEST, p. 279. A mutual ignorance of the language of the other nation is the natural cause of a trade such as this. But a dumb trade, carried on merely by signs, is not very uncommon in the east, as we learn from the account of the great fairs in Arabia Felix.

[n] It is that most terrible of all the caravan routes, which passes over that most dreadful of all the African deserts Zuenziga. The Carthaginians seem not to have ventured across it, but to have preferred the dangers of the sea.

report that the Moors enter not into the Negro country, but only go to a certain place on the frontiers, where one of each party exhibits and exchanges the goods, without scarcely opening their lips." Captain Lyon again, the latest traveller in this quarter, brings an account from the very heart of Africa in almost the very words of Herodotus. In Soudan, beyond the desert, in the countries abounding in gold, there dwells, as Lyon was told, an invisible nation, who are said to trade only by night. Those who come to traffic for their gold, lay their merchandise in heaps, and retire. In the morning they find a certain quantity of gold dust placed against every heap, which, if they think sufficient, they leave the goods; if not, they let both remain until more of the precious ore is added[o].

The slight variation in these circumstances may be accounted for from the places not being exactly the same; as the Carthaginians did not go by land, as the inhabitants of Morocco and Fez do, but by water. Can, however, proofs more conclusive be offered of the connection of Carthage with those gold countries, her trade with which was perhaps much more important and profitable to her than might be inferred from the passage of Herodotus. To seek out and to keep secret the discovery of countries abundant in metal was also quite agreeable to the genius

[o] *Narrative*, p. 149.

of Phœnician policy. The danger of rivals and the desire of concealment being always proportioned to the richness of the country.

The port of Gades must be regarded as the chief place, and as the new starting point for all these distant voyages. Gades was adapted for the navigation of the ocean, whose boundless expanse seemed to dare the hardy adventurer to the discovery of what lay beyond. Whether Phœnician or Carthaginian ever reached that point, whether one of their ships was ever driven to America, are questions which curiosity has often asked, and which it has answered according to its own fancy. But he who fairly surveys the character of ancient navigation, which, however extended, was always confined to the coasts, will believe in no intentional voyage across the trackless ocean: should however a doubt still remain, we have the evidence of a Carthaginian mariner and adventurer[q]: that

> Beyond the pillars lies an open sea;
> It stretches far, as Hamilcon has said;
> Yet no one saw it, or guided his ship thereto;

but that they navigated the coasts to a very wide extent cannot, after the foregoing inquiries, be doubtful.

[q] Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 380—384.

> Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
> Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
> Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta
> Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit.

CHAPTER VI.

The Land Trade of Carthage.

THE navigation and maritime commerce of Carthage have hitherto alone occupied the attention of historians. But that this opulent republic carried on an extensive trade by land, and kept up an intercourse with the inner nations of Africa, seems not to have been suspected; and yet it would have been a remarkable phenomenon if the active spirit of speculation which prevailed in this commercial state, had in this point alone been blind to the advantages of its situation.

Here, however, we advance into a region over which every thing conspires to throw a veil of the deepest mystery. Africa, in its interior, is the least known of any quarter of the globe, and, perhaps, fortunately for its inhabitants, will long remain so. Of the great empires which it contains, we know scarcely even the names; and the numerous caravans which yearly traverse it have added little to our stock of information.

The caravan trade of Carthage seems besides to have been one of its state secrets. The jealous merchants were so silent, that it remained concealed even from the historians who wrote upon Carthage. We cannot, therefore, venture to hope for more than scanty and obscure information: indeed, we must have been satisfied with bare conjecture if Herodotus had not discovered and betrayed the secret. He alone conducts us across the deserts of Libya, from the Nile to the Niger, and thence to the dominions of Carthage. Before, however, we set out upon these journeys through the deserts, let me be allowed to premise a few remarks upon the internal trade of Africa in general, without which what follows could scarcely be understood.

The commerce of inner Africa is confined in a great measure to commodities either belonging to the first wants of life, or else to those upon which men place so much store, in consequence of their serving as the standard of value, that they readily bid defiance to the greatest dangers in order to obtain them. To the first belong dates, salt, and what from the constitution of society in the ancient world was one of its principal necessaries,—slaves. To the latter gold in grains or dust.

The slave trade, over which true philosophy in the present day has gained her latest and most glorious victory, is as old in Africa as history reaches back. Among the ruling nations

on the north coast, the Egyptians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, slavery was not only established but they imported whole armies of slaves, proofs of which will presently be given, partly for home use, and partly, at least by the latter, to be shipped off to foreign markets. These wretched beings were chiefly drawn from the interior, where kidnapping was just as much carried on then as it is at present. Black male and female slaves were even an article of luxury, not only among the above-mentioned nations, but even in Greece and Italy; and as the allurement to this traffic was on this account so great, the unfortunate negro race had, even thus early, the wretched fate to be dragged into distant lands under the galling yoke of bondage.

Salt is another commodity of the trade of inner Africa; and perhaps, as it is the most indispensable, it may be deemed the most important. Salt-pits, it is true, are found on the northern coasts, but it is otherwise with the fertile and thickly peopled districts beyond the great desert, about the Niger, and to the south of that river. These are entirely destitute of salt either in mines or springs[a], while nature has established immense magazines of this useful mineral in the great barren waste. These are sometimes in salt-lakes, which, dried up by the summer heat, leave behind a vast quantity of salt, covering extensive patches of the earth;

[a] Leo, p. 260. Dapper, p. 320. *Proceedings*, etc. p. 237.

sometimes in large beds or layers, which frequently extend for many miles and rise in hills; and sometimes, where these are covered by the earth, pits and mines are formed both of white and coloured salt[b]. The swarthy race, therefore, dwelling about the Niger are obliged either to fetch this commodity themselves in numerous caravans, or it is brought them by foreign merchants, who take gold dust or other wares in exchange. A scarcity of salt often arises in Kashna and Tombuctoo, as a famine does in Europe. The price of salt at these times increases to such a pitch, that Leo Africanus saw an ass's load sold at Tombuctoo for eighty ducats[c]. Thus nature compels mankind to a mutual intercourse by endowing even the desert with articles necessary for human existence.

A third great article in the interior trade of Africa is dates. The tree which bears this fruit is one of the family of palms, and is well known as the date-palm. The fruit, which contains one single large kernel, has a sweetish taste, and is mealy. As we are acquainted with the bread tree, and its great use in the South Sea islands, we are the better able to comprehend the value of the date-palm: what the former is for those islands the latter is for a great part of Africa. Its fruit serves the in-

[b] HORNEMANN, p. 10, 20, 82. LEO, *Afric.* p. 224. LYON, *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 205, 211.

[c] LEO, p. 250.

habitants in general for food; in the ancient world as well as in the modern, it underwent a preparation by which it might be preserved for some time; out of its sap is made a liquor whose intoxicating power supplies the place of wine; it serves also as food for cattle, and goats are fattened with its bruised kernels[d].

Dates however are not to be found in every part of Africa. The same bountiful Nature which gives her treasures to the sandy wilderness, has planted the date-palm in the midst of those habitable regions, where the barrenness of the soil prevents the growth of corn. All those countries bordering on the north side of the great desert between 29 and 26° north lat., which the Arabians comprise under the name of Biledulgerid, as well as many fertile patches in the great waste itself, are the native districts of the date tree. In other places they are found less plentifully, or not at all. Here however they are the necessary substitute for grain. Every year, in October, the great harvest begins, whose productiveness creates as much anxious attention as we feel a few months earlier for the corn harvest[e].

From these districts this fruit is carried over

[d] Leo, p. 31, 235. According to more recent travellers, the palm wine is not made of the sap of the tree, but of its fruit. Rennel, *Expedition of Cyrus*, p. 120. Perhaps preparations of both exist.

[e] Leo, p. 31, who is also my authority for the following statements. His accounts are confirmed by the latest travellers, Hornemann, Lyon, etc. The date harvest however falls at very different times in different years. Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 39.

the greater part of Africa, even as far as the Negro countries about the Niger, and the lands beyond that river. But above all to the inhabitants of the desert, where it is indispensable. These tribes form numerous caravans which journey to Biledulgerid, where they exchange the produce of their flocks for this necessary of life; while the agricultural Arab barters for it the superfluity of his corn.

The last great article of the inner trade of Africa is gold, and particularly gold dust, or rather gold grains. It is not however, according to the common notion, collected in the sandy desert. Gold is only found in Africa, as in all other places, in the bosom of mountains. From these it is sometimes dug, though we do not know that any artificial mine-works are made use of; sometimes it is washed down by the violence of the mountain torrents during the rainy season, and when these have passed away it is separated from the sand by a very simple process[f].

In the north of Africa, on this side the desert, little or no gold is to be found. It is the countries beyond it, and especially the districts to the south of the Niger, upon which this perilous gift is bestowed. And although common report may have exaggerated the truth, the riches of the earth must here be immense.

The gold countries with which we are at

[f] *Description de la Nigritie*, p. 140, 141.

present acquainted, and of which Bambuk is the most considerable, lie in the Kong mountains, a chain which stretches itself right across Africa. It appears highly probable that this chain abounds everywhere in gold; as we can see no reason why its riches should be limited to one small district. But even in these countries, as in Bambuk, no artificial means have been adopted for working the mines[g]. The inhabitants understand no method beyond the simple one of digging pits, which, without danger of falling in, cannot be carried lower than forty feet; and although the treasures of the soil begin to appear at this depth, the principal veins must certainly lie deeper. Nevertheless the produce is considerable; and the quantity of this metal is so great among many of the inland negro nations that the common utensils of their kings are made of it[h].

[g] Respecting Bambuk compare GOLBERRY's *Fragments of a Voyage in Africa*, vol. i, chap. 10, 11, where also the attempts made, some time ago, in France, to procure these treasures are described and examined.

[h] "A hundred miles inland from fort Mina is found a negro nation, the *Argentais*, among whom gold is so plentiful that the doors of the king's house are covered with it, and in the market the merest trifle is bought for gold." *Descrip. de la Nigr.* p. 142. These Argentais, from the place of their abode, could be no other than the *Ashantees* (whose name is only mistaken), with whom we are become better acquainted since BOWDICH's *Mission*. His account completely confirms that of the French work just quoted. Compare the brilliant spectacle which the king and his court formed at his presentation; where the sight is almost overpowered by the splendour and quantity of the gold, of which not merely the ornaments but the greater part of the utensils were composed. BOWDICH's *Mission to Ashantee*. Bowdich also expressly confirms the fact, that in the market of the capital, Kumassi, the usual payments are made in gold dust. p. 330.

The early accounts respecting them, which it has been usual to regard as exaggerated, have been completely confirmed by the latest travellers in their description of the Ashantees, their capital, and the court of their monarch.

Gold dust therefore is the common payment which the Moorish merchants receive for their goods. This has always been the loadstone which drew them from the north of Africa;—this alone inspired them with sufficient courage to brave the terrors of the desert;—and the great attraction of this metal accounts for the high antiquity of this commercial intercourse.

Nature having thus, by the distribution of her bounties, invited the nations of Africa to a mutual intercourse, has also, to a certain degree, prescribed the way by which it should be carried on. The great distance which the countries lie apart, the vast deserts and the hordes of robbers wandering about them, render travelling here altogether impracticable to single traders; it is only in numerous companies that these perils can be overcome; consequently the inner trade of Africa must always have been a caravan trade. But among the many consequences resulting from this particular mode of trading, there is one to which it necessarily leads. I mean that of rendering it the affair of whole nations to an extent beyond what could take place in European commerce. The nomad life, and the possession of the camel, an animal so particularly

adapted for it, seem to have induced certain nations to devote themselves almost entirely to this trade, which they carry on partly on their own account, and partly as mere carriers. Great caravans are thus formed by them, in which whole tribes, or the greater portion of them, often take part. The civilization of these nations, and with them that of inner Africa in general, has therefore, in a great measure, depended upon this trade, the importance of which, in this respect, will be more clearly pointed out in the portion of this work devoted to the Ethiopians and Egyptians. Its great staples, and the routes by which it has been carried on, cannot, from the nature of the country, have been subject to many changes. It is reasonable to suppose that where the course of a trade lies through immense deserts, the commodities to be transported will naturally be collected in the countries on the borders, and the business connected with it will there centre and accumulate. This sufficiently accounts for the fact that particular districts in Africa, in spite of violent or gradual revolutions, have always remained places of commerce. The routes through the deserts are also unchangeably fixed by Nature. Had not interposed in the midst of them fertile spots to refresh with their springs and their shade the wearied traveller, the difficulties of the way would have been insurmountable. How could a journey of several months have been

performed when encumbered with a necessary supply of water; and where could be found beasts of burden strong enough to support this tedious journey? Nature however has so dotted the sandy wastes with these islands as at once to determine the resting places of the traveller, and to point out the routes by which this intercourse of nations shall be carried on. However surprising, therefore, it may appear, it will no longer seem strange that the caravans of Africa are still seen moving along the very same route that they have been in the habit of following for more than two thousand years.

The information which Herodotus obtained, and transmitted to posterity respecting the interior of Africa, shows both the great extent of its trade, even at that early period, and the nations by whom it was carried on. Herodotus collected the materials for this part of his history in Egypt, the only country of Africa that he is known to have visited. The circumstance of his computing the distances and day's journeys from thence, is a sufficient proof of this fact. That ancient country has in all ages been the rendezvous of the caravans from the western and southern nations; so that he could not here fail of opportunities of consulting those Ammonians, Carthaginians, Nasamonians, and other nations of Libya, whom he often quotes as authorities for his statements[1]. His

[1] Herod. ii, 28, 32; iv, 43, 173, 187, 195, 196.

general knowledge of Africa embraced the greater part of the northern division. He gives us an accurate enumeration of all the small tribes dwelling on the coast as far as the territory of Carthage[k]. To the western part, afterwards called Numidia, or Mauritania, his information did not extend; although he was acquainted by name with the promontory Soloës, on the western coast of Africa[l]. But his knowledge of the interior is most deserving of our admiration. It comprises not only whatever is most remarkable in the desert, the oases, and the tribes inhabiting them; but it extends to that mysterious stream beyond the desert flowing from east to west, which, under the name of the Joliba, has been again brought into notice in the present age. The account of the first discovery of this river is of too much importance to the commerce of inner Africa for any part of it to be omitted here.

"What I have hitherto related," says Herodotus[m], who has just given a minute description of the course of the Nile above Egypt, "I have heard from men of Cyrene, who told me they had been to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and had a conversation with Etearchus king of the Ammonians. Among other matters they fell into a discourse upon the Nile, and upon no one's knowing its sources. Whereupon Etearchus observed, that certain Nasamones had

[k] Herod. iv, 168, sqq. [l] Herod. iv, 43.
[m] Ibid. ii, 32.

visited him (these Nasamones are a Libyan race, dwelling on the [Greater] Syrtis, and a small territory to the east), and that when he asked them if they had anything to tell him respecting the desert, they gave him the following relation: 'that there had been among them some hardy youths, belonging to the most powerful families, who, having reached to man's estate, imagined various extravagant projects; and, among others, elected by lot five among them who were to visit the deserts of Libya, and endeavour to see more than any who had gone before them. The Nasamones went on to state, that the young men who were sent on this expedition by their comrades, having well provided themselves with water and provision, first traversed the inhabited country; after which they proceeded to the region of wild beasts, whence they marched across the desert, travelling westward; that after passing through a large sandy region, and travelling many days, they at last beheld some trees growing in a plain; that going up to them, they tasted of the fruits hanging on the branches; but while they were eating, some pigmies came up to them, smaller than men of middle stature, who seized and carried them off. That the Nasamones did not understand the language of these people, neither did they who were carrying them off understand that of the Nasamones. These people accordingly took them across some vast marshes, after passing which they

came to a city, wherein all the inhabitants were of the same size as those who had seized them, and black in colour: near the city flowed a wide river, the stream of which run from west to east; and in that river were crocodiles.' So far accordingly I have reported the words of Etearchus, excepting that he said, according to the account of the Cyrenians, 'that the Nasamones had returned, and that the people to whom they reached were all enchanters.' The stream flowing by the city, Etearchus conjectured to be the Nile, which seems indeed the most probable."

The nation of the Nasamones, to which the adventurers who made this discovery belonged, was one of the tribes dwelling in the districts about the Syrtes, by whom, as has already been stated, the trade with inner Africa was chiefly carried on. This enterprise, therefore, is not represented as an expedition into a land altogether unknown. "They had," says the historian, "already undertaken many hardy adventures. But they still wished to see if they could not go farther than any one had hitherto gone." It appears moreover evident, that although the number of real adventurers were only five, yet their attendants must have been more numerous, so as altogether to form a small caravan. In no other way is travelling possible in these regions. They are besides represented as being of the highest rank in their

nation; and took, says the writer, a plentiful supply of water and food.

Their route lay through the inhabited and wild beast districts of Africa, which brought them to the desert. Traversing this in a south-westerly direction[n], they came, after many days' journey, to a cultivated land, inhabited by black men of diminutive stature, under the usual size[o], who received them kindly, and became their guides. They conducted them through large marshy districts, to a city whose inhabitants were of the same form as their guides, and were much given to magic. Near this city was a large river, certainly flowing from west to east.

It is evident from this account, that the Nasamones reached the Negro lands beyond the desert, and came to a negro people, who received them with the same hospitality, as these nations still show to their neighbours, the Moors. Their swarthy complexion, and their whole exterior, which so strongly mark them as altogether a different race of men

[n] The expression πρὸς ζέφυρον, which Herodotus uses, means a westerly direction. But that it must be understood south-west here is evident, as otherwise they would not have entered at all into the interior of the great desert. Perhaps there is still something particular in the expression. The great caravan road into the interior, from the country of the Nasamones, lies, as we shall presently see, directly south. It seems, therefore, that they wished expressly to take another, namely a more westerly direction, that so they might explore the great western desert of Africa.

[o] Not dwarfs, the writer does not say so much.

from the northern Africans, clearly prove this. We know from Mungo Park, that a belief in magic and amulets generally prevails among the negro nations; and even the account of their diminutive stature is confirmed by a belief still prevalent in Africa. The sultan of Darfur's brother told Denon, the latest French traveller, that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo, are a very small and gentle people[p], living on the banks of a large river; and he was likely to be well acquainted with the fact, as there is a brisk intercourse between this nation and the inhabitants of that city, as they exchange with them the wares they receive from Egypt for gold dust and ivory. Mungo Park, as he approached the Joliba, found the inhabitants under their fruit trees,—butter trees. The whole description presents the picture of a genuine African country.

But the river flowing near their city in an easterly direction is certainly the most remarkable circumstance in the whole relation. Was it the Joliba? and were the Nasamones the first discoverers of it? And could a rumour of this mysterious stream, although its name still remained confined to the desert, have reached the ears of Herodotus, who noted it down, and he thus again becomes understood by modern discoveries?

[p] *Fort petits et doux.* DENON, *Voyage en Egypte*, i, p. 309. The addition that the river flows towards the west is a mistake. The small stature of the Ethiopians is noticed by STRABO, p. 1176. It probably gave rise to the fable of the pigmies.

Herodotus does not mention this river by name, but merely calls it a *large* stream. We know now that there is no other such stream in northern Africa running from west to east; the Joliba is often called the great stream[q]. It is the first that a traveller would come to after crossing the desert; and the direction which the Nasamones took must have brought them to it. Herodotus's further description of it confirms this conjecture. A swampy district must be passed over before reaching it; on its banks was a city; and in its waters are crocodiles. The Joliba flows through a deep morass formed by the elevation of the desert on the north, and the chain of the Kong mountains on the south. Like all other tropical rivers, it yearly overflows, and then covers the rich valley through which it holds its course with its waters. Hence it might form morasses and lakes, in which it is said to lose itself at Wangara. That the large towns of central Africa are built upon its banks is likewise certain; it was therefore natural to suppose that the Nasamones would be conducted to one of them. The fact that it contains crocodiles is also confirmed by Mungo Park, the modern discoverer of this river, who says they are frequently found in it, but are harmless[r].

This account of Herodotus, in connection with other still more precise information, which

[q] Mungo Park, *Travels*, etc. p. 194.
[r] Ibid. p. 219.

he collected respecting inner Africa, not only shows the existence of a commerce between its inhabitants, but likewise points out the nations by whom it was chiefly carried on. These were the nomad tribes between the two Syrtes; and even now the inhabitants of these districts chiefly form the caravans which traverse all Africa, as the accounts of the latest travellers inform us[s]. However, this did not prevent the Carthaginians from taking an active part in it; indeed it was carried on principally for them, and on their account. Even the number of slaves[t] which they bought, partly for their own use, and partly for exportation, is a striking proof of their great share in this trade. These not only performed the laborious parts of agriculture, and of the public works, but also manned their fleets; and where could the Carthaginians so well procure them as from the very place whence the inhabitants of the coasts of Tripoli and Tunis for the most part procure them at the present moment? They likewise obtained the precious stones which bore the name of their city, from the countries lying in the interior[u]: and that they themselves took part in the journeys through the desert is proved by the fact of a certain Mago

[s] Hornemann, p. 78.

[t] Appian, vol. i, p. 378. The reader need only be reminded of the history of their servile war.

[u] Viz. through the Garamantes, beyond Fezzan. Strabo, p. 1192.

having three times journeyed across it with no other sustenance than dry meal[x].

But the national intercourse of Africa can only be seen in its proper light by an acquaintance with the routes by which it was carried on. We now know, from some of the latest writers and travellers[y], the routes of the principal caravans which yearly traverse Africa. We know that the northern half of this continent is crossed in its whole length and breadth: from Tripoli to the Niger, to Kashna and Bornou; and from Tombuctoo and Morocco to Cairo. Even the western Sahara, the most dreadful desert on the face of our globe, which swallows up nearly half the caravans, and for three hundred miles contains not a drop of water, has not proved a barrier to the courage of man stimulated by avarice[z].

Just so was it in ancient times. What I

[x] ATHEN. p. 44. Meal mixed with water is one of the most common articles of food upon these journeys. HORNEMANN, p. 7.

[y] The compiler of *The Proceedings*, etc. With Bruce, Browne, Mungo Park, Hornemann, and the recent British travellers, Lyon, Denham, etc. are here of great assistance.

[z] A description of it may be seen in LEO, p. 28, who himself performed this journey; and a more modern account in GRAY JACKSON'S *Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 1809. From Fez to Tombuctoo is reckoned a fifty-four days' journey, exclusive of halting days. In the year 1806 a whole caravan from Tombuctoo to Tafilit, consisting of 2000 men and 1800 camels, perished for want of water. I cannot refrain from giving the following caravan-legend from LEO. "In the midst of the desert are two marble monuments, to which tradition gives the following origin. A rich merchant met here a camel-driver, and begged him to sell him a cup of water. They agreed upon the price, 10,000 ducats. Now, however, the seller wanted it himself, and both perished of thirst."

have thus far said will serve as a preparation to my readers for a journey, in which, conducted by Herodotus, we shall now accompany an African caravan. A journey of more than one thousand eight hundred miles, through parched sandy plains, and everlasting deserts. I insert here the whole of the remarkable passage of Herodotus, only rendered intelligible by recent discoveries, because every line is of importance. It is found in the fourth book of his history chap. 181 to 185.

"The above tribes that have been mentioned are those of the Libyan nomads (which Herodotus has just before enumerated), dwelling on the sea side. Above these, inland, lies Wild-beast Libya (Biledulgerid); above Wild-beast Libya is a sandy ridge stretching from Thebes of the Egyptians to the Pillars of Hercules; in this ridge, at the distance of about ten days' journey one from the other, are seen on the hills masses of salt in large lumps; and at the summit of each hill a stream of cold and soft water flows forth in the midst of the salt. About the springs dwell the last tribes towards the desert, and above Wild-beast Libya. First: ten days' journey from Thebes are the Ammonians, who have the temple derived from Theban Jove; for at Thebes likewise, as I have before observed, the image of Jove is with a ram's head. They have another stream of water, which, early in the morning, is warm; more cool in the middle of the

forenoon; and when it is mid-day, becomes exceedingly cold; at which time, accordingly, they water their gardens: as the day wears, it loses its coolness till such time as the sun sets, when the water becomes luke warm, and continues to increase in heat till midnight draws near, at which time it boils violently; when midnight is gone by, the water becomes cooler towards dawn. This spring is called the fountain of the Sun.—Next to the Ammonians, after a ten days' journey along the ridge of sand, there is another hill of salt, like the Ammonian one, with a spring, and men dwelling around; the name of this country is Augila; and to this quarter the Nasamonians go to gather the dates. From the Augili, after another ten days' journey, there is another salt-hill, with water, and abundance of fruit-bearing palms, as on the other hills. In this quarter dwell a nation of men, who are called Garamantes, a very large tribe. These people throw mould upon the salt, and then sow their seeds. From these to the Lotophagi, by the shortest cut, is a thirty days' journey. Among the Garamantes are found the kine that graze backwards; they are obliged to graze in this manner, because they have horns bending forward, on account of which they walk backwards as they graze; not being able to step forwards, as their horns would stick in the ground. These kine are, in no other respect, different from the rest of oxen, except in this and in the thickness and

closeness of their skin. The Garamantes go in chase of the Ethiopian Troglodytæ in four-horse chariots; for the Troglodytæ are the swiftest on foot of all men that we have ever heard mentioned. The Troglodytæ eat serpents and efts, and such like crawling things. They use a language similar to none other, for they shriek like bats.

"At ten days' journey from the Garamantes is another salt-hill and water; around which dwells a nation who are called the Atarantes; these are the only men that we know of who have no proper names; for their name, as a body, is Atarantes, but there is no separate name given to individuals; they curse the sun when he is right over their heads, and use all kind of injurious language, because he scorches and harasses both the country and its inhabitants.

"After these, at the distance of another ten days' journey is another salt-hill and spring; and men dwelling round. Adjoining this salt-hill is a mountain, the name of which is Atlas; it is narrow, and round on every side; it is said to be so lofty, that it is not possible to see its top; for the clouds never disperse from about the summit, whether in summer or winter. This mountain, the natives say, is the pillar of heaven: and from it those people take their name; they are, in fact, called Atlantes. They are represented as eating nothing that has life, and as having no dreams. As far,

therefore, as these Atlantes, I am enabled to give the names of the nations residing on the ridge, but not of any beyond them: although it extends as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and even beyond them.

"Every ten days' journey is found a salt mine (ἁλὸς μέταλλον), and a settlement of men. With all these people the houses are built of blocks of salt, for rain never falls in any of these parts of Libya; and, indeed, if it were to rain, the walls being of salt, could not stand: the salt dug up there is both of a white and a purple colour. Higher up, beyond this ridge, towards the south and midland of Libya, the country is desert, without water, without beasts, without wood, and without dew."

Thus far Herodotus.—It is almost impossible not to see in this narrative the description of a caravan road, although none of his commentators has hitherto remarked it. I am convinced that the greater part of my readers will assent without farther proof, when they consider our former remarks on the trade of inner Africa, and the manner of travelling there. But to those who still require farther proofs, I offer the following arguments.

In the first place: The route passes in its whole length across deserts which can only be travelled over by caravans, as in this manner only are they passable. It was by them alone that accounts could be brought to Egypt, where Herodotus collected them.

Again: The definitions of the route are all such as are usually given of caravan roads: the distances are measured by day's journeys; the resting places mentioned are those in which fresh water is to be found.

Nor indeed does Herodotus conceal the sources whence he drew his information. He repeatedly appeals to the testimony of the Libyans, whom he met with in Egypt, and from whom he collected his accounts respecting the interior of Africa[a]: that is, from the very persons themselves who performed these caravan journeys, and who, without doubt, had at that time come to Egypt in company with some of these caravans.

And lastly: The route pointed out by Herodotus is the same, with very slight deviations, which may be easily accounted for, as that now in use; a striking proof to those who are acquainted with the little variation which takes place in these commercial roads.

Should it, nevertheless, be asked, how it happens that Herodotus nowhere mentions these caravans, I have no other answer to give than because he considered it as having nothing to do with his object, which was only to give geographical information. Moreover, to persons who have travelled much and seen much, many ideas and facts become so familiar,

[a] Herod. iv, 173, 187.

that they are apt to presuppose a knowledge of them in others.

Taking it for granted then, that this is a description of a caravan road running through Africa, we have next to inquire into its nature and direction.

It is plain, that the account of Herodotus contains the description of the commercial road between Upper Egypt and Fezzan; likewise between Carthage and these countries, and probably still farther, even to the countries near the Niger. Its course is traced from Egypt by the desert of Thebais to the temple of Ammon; thence by part of the desert of Barca, and the deserts of the Harutsh mountains to Fezzan; and finally seems to be lost in the present kingdoms of Kashna and Bornou.

The first of these routes Herodotus describes from station to station; but notwithstanding the great certainty with which we can determine upon the whole, there yet remains some difficulties as to the distance of the stations from one another, which cannot be completely removed. They will, as the explanation of the separate stations almost immediately show, excite a suspicion that two of the intermediate places have been left out, although probably not by the carelessness of the writer, but rather by that of the travellers from whom he received his information. These persons endeavoured, as it seems, to give such a regula-

rity to the whole journey, that exactly at the end of every ten days a resting place should be found, with something remarkable belonging to it. But it is only by minute commentary on the words of Herodotus that these assertions can be proved; and this can be given the more easily as one of the latest travellers in this part of Africa has minutely described the very same route which is here described by the father of history [b].

The place from which we set out is Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt. This is the point from which Herodotus reckons all distances, as well here as in other parts of his work, relating to places and nations in inner Africa. A decided proof that he collected his information respecting Africa in Upper Egypt.

Thebes, in ancient Egypt, was therefore the rendezvous of caravans, just the same as the new capital Cairo is at present. This change has necessarily occasioned some variation in the direction of the road through the desert, which now runs a little more to the north, in order to reach the latter city.

The first station is the temple of Jupiter Ammon. And now becomes explained the intention

[b] The journey of HORNEMANN, the only one who has hitherto travelled the *whole* of the way, only deviates a little from this route in consequence of his having started from the present capital, Cairo, instead of Thebes; and, therefore, as far as Ammonium, he diverged more to the north. The latest travellers, who went *part* of this route, Lyon, Caillaud, Edmonston, and Minutoli, will be mentioned in their proper place.

of this great oracle, and the cause of its mysterious situation in the midst of a sandy waste, the terrors of which must have frightened the most hardy adventurer. The interests of these priests would have taught them that the single adventurers who might haply arrive at their temple, would not afford a sufficient compensation for the loss of the crowds of votaries whom the dangers of the desert deterred from such a journey. Now these difficulties vanish at once! The temple of Jupiter Ammon was not only a sanctuary but a resting place for caravans; and its situation was equally convenient for those coming from the Negro countries as from northern Africa to Egypt. How many valuable presents must here have been offered? now by the curious who came to consult the oracle; and now by the pious gratitude of the rich merchant, who had either just commenced a fearful expedition through the desert, or coming from Africa, here saw himself near the end of a fortunate and tedious journey?

The re-discovery of this place, in several respects so remarkable, has been the favourite undertaking of several modern travellers; and their labours have not been in vain. Two of the latest have succeeded in reaching it. The first traveller who discovered the ruins of the temple of Ammon was Mr. Browne, and his accounts have been both confirmed and ex-

tended by Hornemann[c]. Although accidents and the jealousy of the natives prevented both travellers from taking an accurate examination, they both agree in considering the present Siwah as the ancient Ammonium. The place accords in every respect with the ancient accounts, several of which also agree as to its situation[d]. The reports of the latest traveller, who has not only been able to inquire, but also to make drawings and models, have put an end to all uncertainty.

Ancient Ammonium is described not as a mere temple, but as a small state founded in common by the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and having its own chief or king[e]. Its origin and large population, are shown by the number of catacombs and the remains of mummies with which the neighbouring hills abound[f]. The oasis itself is of moderate extent. The fertile soil, according to the survey of Minutoli, extends about ten miles in length, but is nowhere more than three in breadth[g]. The present Siwah, consisting of four or five towns, the chief of which is called Kebir, is governed by its own sheiks or chiefs. It is only lately

[c] See BROWNE's *Travels*, p. 23, etc. and HORNEMANN's *Journey*, p. 18.

[d] I here draw from the copious and accurate researches of RENNEL, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 576.

[e] HEROD. ii, 32, 42.

[f] MINUTOLI's *Journey*, p. 171. Their number is much greater than has been supposed. Many are painted and covered with hieroglyphics. They bear entirely an Egyptian character.

[g] MINUTOLI, p. 88.

that the present pasha of Egypt, who led an expedition against it, has forced it to pay tribute [h]. The castle of the ancient princes is still remaining. Its present name is Shargieh; and a description and drawing of it will be found in Minutoli [i]. From the entrance of the ancient temple, in a direct line, it is only three hundred and twenty paces distant; and its principal gate is exactly opposite.

The ruins of the ancient temple the inhabitants sometimes call *Birbé* (temple), but usually *Umebeda* [k]. They lie about three miles from Kebir; between the village of Shargieh and a mountain in which the stone quarries are still to be seen whence the building materials were taken. The remains of the temple itself consists of two parts; one, a sort of *pronaos*, or antechamber, and the other an inner chamber, the proper sanctuary. The back south wall is entirely gone; it is therefore impossible now to give the original dimensions of the temple. Large it never could have been, though evidently larger than it is at present [l]. The construction, as well as the whole form of the building, agrees completely with the ancient Egyptian. The walls are entirely com-

[h] In the year 1820. MINUTOLI, p. 93.

[i] MINUTOLI, p. 165, 167. And the drawing Tab. xi. fig. a.

[k] MINUTOLI, p. 165, 167. What follows is also borrowed from him. See the annexed plan.

[l] That the ancient temple of Ammon was only of a moderate size is shown by Professor Toelken, the publisher of Minutoli, from ancient authors. MINUTOLI, p. 169. See the ground plan and plates, vi—x.

posed of hewn stones. The whole temple within and without was covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; all of which, however, are not in an equally good state of preservation[m]. The interstices between the hieroglyphics on the walls and on the ceiling were painted; the green and blue colours are still bright. In every part of the sculpture traces of the worship of Ammon are to be found, similar to that of Thebes; even the procession with the sacred ark. The rest of the temple, according to the Egyptian custom was surrounded by a wall, which separated the holy precinct from that which was less sacred. It was of considerable thickness and formed of square stones; it has now, however, almost entirely disappeared though its direction may still be clearly traced. It is only in the corners that the largest of the stones have preserved unmoved their original situation, and show the extent of the whole inclosure. Its length amounts to seventy paces and its breadth to sixty-six, and the sides are pretty accurately placed according to the points of the compass[n]. Within this wall vestiges of a second are found, which render it probable that certain other additions were formed, of which however the reigning father can be determined.

[m] Mutoli has favoured us with accurate copies of them; we are also indebted to his learned publisher for copious explanations of them, to which he has devoted six whole chapters of his work, p. 100—162.

[n] MUTOLI, p. 166.

On the south of the temple, at the distance of a full quarter of an hour's walk, arises, in a delightful grove of dates, the fountain of the sun, formerly sacred to Ammon. It forms a small pool[o] about thirty paces in length and twenty wide. It is said to be six fathom deep; but it is so clear that the bottom is seen, from which bubbles continually arise like those of a boiling caldron. The temperature of the water varies, it is warmer at night than in the day, and about day-break is wont to smoke. It is probably a hot spring, the warmth of which is not observed during the heat of the day. A small brook, which runs from the pool, unites itself soon after to another spring (Herodotus says that there are other wells of fresh water), which likewise arises in the palm grove, and runs towards the ruin, near to which it forms a swamp, probably because its ancient outlets are stopped up. The early and high cultivation of the oasis is still shown by its rich produce of dates, pomegranates, and other fruits. The date is the most cultivated, and is obtained in vast quantities and of very fine flavour. In favourable seasons, say the inhabitants, the whole place is covered with this fruit; and the yearly produce amounts to from five to nine thousand camel loads of three hundred pounds each. The annual tribute is now also

[o] Minutoli, p. 96, 164.
[p] Ibid. p. 89.

paid in dates[p]. There is no want of cattle, though the camel does not thrive here, which is probably owing to the dampness of the soil. The inhabitants, therefore, do not export the produce of their land themselves; it is fetched from them by strangers[q], and their existence depends now as it always has done upon the passage of caravans. Near this oasis Nature has placed a large magazine of salt[r], which rises in considerable masses above the ground; there are patches, above a mile long, so covered with this substance as to have the appearance of a field of snow; out of the midst of these springs of fresh water sometimes gush forth. The salt is excellent, and was much valued in antiquity on account of its purity. Every year on the very same day, namely, that on which the great caravan departs for Mecca, the inhabitants begin their salt harvest. A chemical analysis of some of it, which has been brought to Europe, confirms its superior quality[s].

Though from all these circumstances Siwah seems to be identified with the ancient Ammonium, yet a difficulty still remains; the distance of ten days' journey which Herodotus places between Thebes and Ammonium[t]. As the si-

[q] Minutoli, p. 90, 91.

[r] Ibid. p. 174, 175.

[s] By professor John. Minutoli, p. 179. According to this it is a compound of gypsum, with from ten to twenty per cent of rock salt.

[t] Rennel, *Geography of Herod.* p. 577, gets over this difficulty by saying, that Herodotus only says to the territory of the Ammonians, and not to the temple of Ammon. But as the Ammonians, according to all the

tuation both of Thebes and Siwah is known with certainty, the distance between the two has been determined, and is computed at four hundred geopraphical miles. Now as a day's journey of a caravan can only be reckoned at sixteen, or, at the most, at twenty of these miles, it is clear that not ten but twenty days, or double the time stated, is required for this journey. Should it however be still supposed that Siwah is not the ancient Ammonium, and that the latter must be sought for nearer to Thebes [w], nothing will be gained; as the distance of the following station in that case will not agree, which now, as we shall presently see, tallies exactly. Under these circumstances the conjecture almost forces itself upon us, that a station of ten days' journey has here been left out, by which every difficulty would at once be cleared up. This station too, may, with great probability, be precisely determined; for the road from Thebes to Ammonium must necessarily lead towards the great oasis, *El Wah*, where Nature has formed a station fit for caravans. That the usual way to Ammonium passes through this is also clear from another passage of Herodotus [x], where he

information we have, only occupied the district about the temple, or the oasis, of very moderate extent, I see not what can be gained by this fact.

[w] Belzoni thought that he had found it in the lesser oasis, first visited by him. *Narrative*, p. 408. An hypothesis which since Minutoli's journey requires no refutation. Belzoni was a bold and successful traveller, but no scholar.

[x] III, 26. STRABO, p. 1168, says the same.

likewise fixes its distance from Thebes at seven days' journey. The great oasis, with its formerly unknown monuments, is now rescued from obscurity, since Caillaud[y] and Edmonstone[z] have visited and described it. It is formed of two parts, an eastern and western, which are in fact two different oases, as a sandy tract of thirty hours lies between them. They are distinguished by the names of their principal towns; that of the eastern, or properly the great oasis, being *El Kargeh*, and of the western, *El Dakel*. In antiquity they seem both to have been taken for one oasis[a], the western at least is never separated from the other traces of habitation; and even remains of a temple, near *El Amur*, are still found between the two. Both are rich in ancient monuments. In the eastern is the great temple *El Kargeh*, for a ground plan and drawing of which we are indebted to Caillaud[b]. In the western is that of *El Hadjur*, besides some other smaller ones. The distance from Thebes specified by Herodotus, which is confirmed by Strabo, agrees exactly; it likewise shows that the former

[y] CAILLAUD, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes. Paris*, 1813.

[z] A Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt, by SIR ARCHIBALD EDMONSTONE. *Lond.* 1823.

[a] STRABO, p. 1168, only speaks of three oases in Libya, the great, the lesser, and that of Ammon. It is therefore clear, that he considered what is called the westerly one as belonging to the great oasis. No other ancient writer has disjoined them.

[b] CAILLAUD, plate xv—xviii.; and EDMONSTONE, plate vi. who also gives views of the other temple.

reckoned according to the day's journey of the caravans. There were two roads which led from Thebes to the oasis; one bearing to the north and something shorter, by Abydus, the other southerly by Latopolis[c]. By the first Caillaud reckoned it to be forty-two, and by the other fifty-two hours to the principal place, *El Kargeh*, which is without doubt the city of the oasis in Herodotus. The latter road appears to have been that mostly in use in antiquity, as from seven to eight hours seems to have been a usual day's journey for caravans[d]; so that if we add one day's journey for the length of the oasis—and greater accuracy cannot well in this case be expected—the distance from Thebes to Siwah will amount to twenty days' journey, or twice the number mentioned by Herodotus. The great oasis therefore lay in the midst of the way; it still continues a station for caravans, not only for those bound to Siwah, but also for those pursuing a more southerly direction and going to Soudan and Darfur[e]. And if in its temples the worship of Ammon was established, as we have every reason to conjecture it was, perhaps that may account for this station not being reckoned; or it might have been omitted because it was considered a part of Thebes, for the great journey through the de-

[c] Caillaud, plate x. and p. 46.
[d] Hornemann, p. 150.
[e] Caillaud, p. 50. Edmonstone, p. 126.

sert commenced from this place; or, perhaps, because no strata of salt were found here as in the other stations.

But in whatever way this omission may have arisen, there can be no doubt as to the fact; and we may conclude that Siwah is the place where stood the temple of Ammon, at which our caravan is arrived, in order, after a short refreshment, to proceed on its journey through the desert.

Leaving then the lofty palms and the sacred groves of Jupiter Ammon, the last traces of vegetation and animated nature soon disappear. The southern desert of Barca opens its arid plains[f], only interrupted by parched barren hills. For ten days this continues, till at length the date groves of Augila appear, and the wearied caravan again lands on one of those fertile islands, which Nature has sprinkled with so sparing a hand over the sandy ocean of Africa.

Augila is a well-known name both in ancient and modern geography. It is at present the capital of a district which comprises two other villages[g]. Hornemann reached it from Siwah after nine long days' journey[h], which, if we reckon them as ten common ones, confirms

[f] HORNEMANN gives a description of the route, p. 36, etc.

[g] Mojabra and Meledila, HORNEMANN, p. 46.

[h] HORNEMANN, p. 46. The caravan travelled during two whole nights; men and beasts were quite exhausted, p. 45. The Arabian geographers estimate the distance at ten days' journey, p. 154. Herodotus's statement therefore, is the one usually current in Africa.

what Herodotus states to be the distance between the two stations. Augila owes nothing to its size, nor is their anything remarkable about it; but it is principally known as being the great thoroughfare for caravans, which still touch at it in their route from western Africa to Cairo[j]. Even in the present day a portion of the inhabitants devote themselves to the caravan trade[k]. Besides this, Augila is a principal mart for dates, which have always been found here of an excellent quality and in great abundance[l]. Herodotus expressly remarks, that the Nasamones in the Regio-Syrtica annually made a journey to this place in order to purchase a supply of this fruit[m]. In like manner the Arabians of Bengasi now carry, yearly, their wheat and barley to the same regions for sale[n].

All this is confirmed by the accounts which Minutoli collected from some Augilians who had fled to Siwah[o]. According to them Augila is ten days' journey from Siwah; and between three and four miles long, and two broad. It contains only two villages. The inhabitants carry on a trade with the caravans

[j] Leo, p. 246. *Proceedings, etc.* p. 289.

[k] Hornemann, p. 44.

[l] Leo, l. c. *Proceedings, etc.* p. 289.

[m] Herod. iv, 182.

[n] Hornemann, p. 48. See also p. 179.

[o] Minutoli, p. 172. Half the inhabitants had fled in order to escape the tribute which the government of Tripoli wished to impose upon them, and had set up their dwellings in the catacombs of Siwah.

which pass through, and frequently take a part therein as camel drivers or merchants, as they possess many camels. Augila produces nearly double the quantity of dates that Siwah does. In this manner is the testimony of Herodotus again confirmed.

But who will now direct us to where the Garamantes dwell; whose territory, rich in springs of fresh water, becomes the next point of our journey? What direction shall we take without the fear of losing ourselves in the desert?

The name of Garamantes alone does not sufficiently indicate their abode. It is one of the most comprehensive of ancient geography, and signifies a widely extended people of inner Africa, from the Land of Dates to the Niger, and eastward as far as Ethiopia[p]. Herodotus is therefore perfectly right in calling them a very large nation. But it still remains to be determined where his Garamantes were situated, and the father of history has given us sufficient particulars to do it satisfactorily.

The Garamantes, he tells us, dwell towards the south, above the Psylli; and from them to the Lotophagi, by the shortest route, is thirty days' journey[q].

These two particulars point out with sufficient accuracy the country which we must make our next resting place. The Psylli, according to

[p] CELLAR. *Geogr. Ant.* ii, p. 944. [q] HEROD. iv, 174 and 183.

the precise statement of Herodotus[r], dwelt in the midst of the Syrtes' territory, about the present Mesurate, between the Lotophagi and the Nasamones: this latter nation took possession of their country, after they, or, what is more likely, only a part of them, had been destroyed in an expedition which they undertook to procure water. This particular specification of the route leads us to the present Fezzan, the ancient Phazania, the first inhabited country which is found southwards beyond that district; but the second statement, that it lies thirty days' journey from the Lotophagi, leaves us without the shadow of a doubt upon the subject. The seat of the Lotophagi, as we have shown above[s], was to the west of the Psylli, extending from Tripolis to the Lesser Syrtis. Now, by taking the centre of their country and Zuila, the usual station of the caravans coming from Egypt (not far from *Germa*, the capital of the ancient Phazania), as the two probable extremes of the journey, we have at once the number of day's journeys required, as will be very clearly shown presently, when it will be necessary to give a more accurate description of this route.

Upon Fezzan, the ancient country of the Garamantes, much light has been thrown within these last few years. Hornemann, indeed, resided there for half a year, but his

[r] IV. 173. [s] See above, p. 48.

Narrative does not extend to the southern part of the country, which he did not see till afterwards. This part, which is of most importance to us, was first visited and described by Captain Lyon. Fezzan is not to be regarded as a small oasis, but rather as a district of considerable magnitude, being in length about four hundred miles from north to south, and from about two hundred to two hundred and fifty in breadth. The question then arises where are we to seek for the station of which Herodotus speaks, and where are the features he describes to be found?

In this case we again find, that the station of the ancients was the same as that of the caravans arriving from Egypt and Soudan in the present day, namely, as we learn from Hornemann and Lyon, the city and territory of Zuila, not far from the eastern boundary of the country, and therefore the natural place to rest at. The latitude of Zuila is settled by Lyon (who took the sun's altitude) to be 26° 11′ 48″ north. The longitude, according to Rennel, is 16° 50′, Greenwich[t]. Not far from Zuila, near Trahan, springs of sweet water are met with, the only ones, as Lyon assures us, to be found in Fezzan[u]; in other parts it is only found at from twelve to twenty feet below the surface: and in

[t] *Narrative*, p. 219. Rennel has placed it upon his map almost a degree farther to the north.

[u] There are three of them; *Narrative*, p. 270.

the neighbourhood of Mafen there is a curious plain of salt earth extending above twenty miles from east to west[x]. Zuila lies at two good days' journey from Mourzouk, the present capital; and at scarcely one, according to Rennel's map, from Germa, the ancient one[y]. Thus everything here agrees with the situation mentioned by Herodotus. The district of Zuila and Germa, moreover, was formerly the chief seat of the trade which has now moved to Mourzouk; and indeed so much so, that even yet the trade of Fezzan is called in central Africa, the trade of Zuila[z].

But a difficulty arises here in Herodotus's statement similar to the one already remarked between Thebes and Ammonium. The distance from Augila to Fezzan is too great for the journey to be performed in ten days. The caravan with which Hornemann travelled, notwithstanding their day's journeys must have surpassed the ordinary measure, took sixteen days in going to Temissa, the first village in Fezzan; and still one more before it reached Zuila. But the Arabian geographers reckon it twenty days' journey from Augila to Fezzan, which seems to correspond with the usual

[x] *Narrative*, p. 257. It resembles the rough and irregular lava of Vesuvius. A poor path has with much difficulty been cut and worn through it.

[y] Lyon places Germa much farther to the north-east on his map, but without any foundation. He did not visit it himself. Rennel in his *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 615, has stated his reasons.

[z] HORNEMANN, p. 69.

course of the caravans[a]. Here then the case is exactly the same as in the distance between Ammonium and Thebes; that is, it amounts to double what Herodotus states it at. As, however, there can exist no doubt respecting the position of the two extremes, Augila and Fezzan, recourse must again be had to the conjecture, by which alone the difficulty can be cleared up, that a station may be found between them; and this is rendered more probable, by the existence of Zala, a station which the Arabian geographers place midway between Augila and Zuila, at ten days' journey from each[b]. Hornemann reached the watered and fertile valley in which he reposed on the ninth day of his strained journey; but the course which the caravans pursue, lies through the southern part of the valley[c]; so that the town, or at least the place where it lay, for the name itself seems to be lost, was perhaps half a day's journey to the north[d].

But whether this or some other solution may be adopted, the route which our caravan must follow, in neither case remains doubtful; we are certain respecting the object of the journey. Our progress hitherto has been almost en-

[a] HARTMANN, *Geogr. Edrisii*, p. 158. *Proceedings*, p. 197.

[b] EDRISI, l. c. Compare Rennel's map, Hornemann's route; upon which the situation of Zala and its distance from both stations is accurately given.

[c] The fertile valley which he describes, p. 55, is undoubtedly the valley of Zala, though he has not named it.

[d] Not only Hornemann, but even Hadgee Abdallah, was ignorant of it: see *Proceedings*, p. 197.

tirely in a westerly direction, it now becomes, as we penetrate deeper into central Africa, more southerly, still, however, with a bearing towards the west.

With renewed courage and strength we now quit Augila. Its groves of palms are soon left behind, and the vault of heaven, and the plains of burning sand, are the only objects which the eye can reach[e]. No sound of animated nature, nor the rustle of a leaf, breaks the everlasting death silence of the dreary waste. Suffocated birds point out the path of the fiery simoon, and perhaps, only yesterday fell its victims; the heavens seem to glow, and volumes of sand, whirling upwards into spiral columns, are chased by the wind, like clouds of mist, athwart the dreadful desert[f]. And though the fruitful valley of Zala seem to promise a more smiling region to the weary traveller, hope is soon turned to disappointment: the most desolate of all wastes, the Harutsh mountains, still lies before him, and demands another ten days' journey ere these terrors can be over-

[e] HORNEMANN, p. 51.

[f] Those who would wish to see a more particular account of this dreadful phenomenon of the desert, may compare BRUCE, iv, p. 584, and *Proceedings*, p. 195. Lyon gives us, from his own experience, the picture of a caravan surprised by a simoon. *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 85, 94, plate 7. The death silence of the desert also appeared most dreadful to him. "Nothing can be more awful than the stillness which prevails, I have often walked so far from the caravans in the night as to be beyond the noise made by the camels or horses, and have experienced a sensation I am unable to describe, as I felt the wind blow past me, and heard the sound which my figure caused it to make, by arresting its progress." p. 347.

come[g]. Then the gigantic ostrich reappears, troops of playful antelopes disport before him, and announce the vicinity of more hospitable regions[h].

Thus we reach Fezzan, or the country of the Garamantes, of whose inhabitants Herodotus has told us several remarkable particulars. They practise agriculture, since, as he tells us, they obtain earth from salt. The soil of Fezzan, according to Lyon, is in general sandy and barren. It is only by the help of manure that a forced produce is raised[i]. That salt, therefore, is to be understood in this place, must no doubt be admitted; and the great salt plain of Mafer proves that there is plenty of it. Nothing, therefore, hinders Herodotus's account from being taken in its most literal sense. Should this however be doubted, the Narrative of Lyon offers still another, and perhaps more probable, explanation: for Fezzan, according to him, is in some parts very abundant in white clay[k]. In order to render the soil more productive this is mixed with sand, as it is with marl in many parts of Europe. It is unnecessary to observe how easily ignorance or carelessness might confound this white clay with salt.

Respecting the kine with horns bending for-

g The desolate mountains, in which nature appears entirely lifeless, are divided into the black and white, and were first described by Hornemann. The black were known to the Romans by the name of *mons ater*. PLINY, v, 5.

h *Proceedings*, l. c. HORNEMANN, p. 55.

i *Narrative*, p. 271.

k *Narrative*, p. 272. If it were not the completely white, but the gray clay, the mistake might have occurred still more easily.

ward, I have in vain sought for some explanation in our writers on natural history. Fezzan contains, according to Lyon, three different species of the buffalo[l]; the *wadan*, an animal of the size of an ass, having very large horns; the *bogra el weish*, which is a red buffalo with large horns, and about the size of an ordinary cow; and the white buffalo of a lighter make; but of kine with horns bending forward he makes no mention. They were better known, however, in antiquity. Alexander of Myndus, a celebrated naturalist, has minutely described them[m]; but I doubt their having formed a distinct species. The neatherds of Africa frequently amuse themselves in giving an artificial form to the horns of their cattle, by continually bending them[n]. This was probably the case here; and this, an early conjecture of mine, has been since confirmed by a monument. In the procession upon the great bas-relief of Kalabshe, for an accurate drawing of which we are indebted to Gau, among the presents brought to the king appear two yoke of steers, with horns not of a natural, but evidently of an artificial shape[o]: one being bent straight forwards, the other backwards. Whether this was done in mere wantonness, to make them move backwards when grazing, or as perhaps they were driven in advance of the army (as they now are by the Caffres), before elephants were tamed and brought

[l] *Narrative*, p. 76. [m] ATHEN. p. 221.
[n] Like the Caffres. BARROW, *Descript. of the Cape*, etc. p. 130.
[o] GAU, *Monuments of Nubia*, plate xv.

) the wars, in order to make them attack re furiously at the first onset, I cannot de-mine[p]. The extraordinary thickness and dness of their hides, mentioned by Herod-s, is also noticed by modern travellers in ir description of African cattle[q].

The hunting of men, in which the Garamantes said to have taken delight, scarcely requires explanation. "They are wont, says He-otus, to hunt the Troglodyte Ethiopians in r-horsed chariots." These Ethiopians seem have been a wild negro race, dwelling in es in the neighbouring mountains, who were napped by the Garamantes to be sold for ves. And the latest accounts respecting Africa ow, even upon these statements of Herodotus, eally astonishing though melancholy light[r].

The mountains, of whose inhabitants we are w speaking, belong to the Tibesti range, nd at some days' journey to the south of zzan, in the deserts of Borgoo. These are in e present day inhabited by the Tibboos, most obably a branch of the ancient Libyan race. ie Tibboo Raschadé, or Rock Tibboos, still vell in caves. But the old inhabitants of this untry, among whom the Tibboos have settled emselves by force, were negroes; and even present the inhabitants of Bilma are mostly groes, or of a black colour; and the historian,

[p] Marmol, *Afrique*, i, p. 52.
[q] Hornemann, p. 127.
[r] *Narrative*, p. 281.

therefore, is fully justified in describing them as such.

The *hunting* of the human race is indeed so little out of use, that the sultan of Fezzan still carries it on annually, substituting, however, for four-horse chariots, a body of cavalry and infantry. While Captain Lyon was there, an expedition of this kind took place under the command of one of the sultan's sons, and the father wept tears of joy when he returned from the *Grazzie*, for so is this expedition called[s], with one thousand eight hundred prisoners, composed of old and young men, women, and children. In this respect then Africa has always remained the same. Beside this, a trifling circumstance mentioned by Herodotus, respecting the language of these people, is confirmed in a manner we could hardly have expected. "They have no language like other men, says he, but shriek like bats."—"When the Augilians speak of these tribes," says Hornemann, "they say their language is similar to the whistling of birds[t]."

In another place, and upon another occasion, Herodotus says of these Garamantes, that they fly the society of men, and shun all intercourse with them: they are entirely without warlike weapons, and know not how to defend themselves[u]. It is plain that this can only be understood of a single tribe, who dwelt in some

[s] *Narrative*, p. 250, etc. [t] HORNEMANN, p. 143.
[u] HEROD. iv. 174.

out of the way corner of the desert, lying at a distance from the route of the caravans. It is almost impossible to picture more briefly and accurately the timidity of these poor creatures, who take every stranger for a robber, than is here done by Herodotus. A similar picture, but drawn in still more lively colours, is given us by Leo of Africa, in his Narrative, of a company of merchants, who, missing their way, unexpectedly fell in with a horde of this description[x]. Should we seek for another in the present Fezzan, it may be found in what Captain Lyon states respecting the poor inhabitants of the village of Terboo[y].

Thus have we traced with certainty the route, which led from Upper Egypt to Fezzan, and identified it with that now in use. But in doing this we have almost forgotten Carthage. It is apparent, however, that these caravans were almost entirely composed of her subjects; Herodotus, moreover, has given us a hint, which at once leads us to turn back, and plainly points out the road *by which they journeyed from the territory of the republic to Fezzan.* I therefore claim the indulgence of the reader to say a few words on this, before I attempt to trace the two still more distant stations of the Atarantes and Atlantes.

[x] Leo, p. 246. Hornemann's account of the poor inhabitants of the village of Ummesogeir, who, being peaceable and weak, chose rather to trust to the protection of their sanctuary than to take up arms, may serve as an example. Hornemann, p. 16.

[y] *Narrative*, p. 220. [Or the *Modern Traveller*, *Africa*, ii, p. 190.]

When Herodotus mentions the Garamantes, he states, that "from them to the Lotophagi, by the shortest way, is thirty days' journey[z]." This remark contains sufficient information.

The seat of the Lotophagi has been ascertained to lie in the neighbourhood of the present Tripoli; between it and the Lesser Syrtis. A journey, therefore, southwards, into the interior to the Garamantes, would lead us, according to the latest English accounts, exactly along the same line of road by which the caravans now go from Tripoli to Fezzan, and from this city still farther into the negro countries. Hornemann performed this journey, though not with a caravan, and deviated from the usual direction. Thanks, however, to Captain Lyon, we have a complete description of the route[a].

The usual route from Tripoli runs at first along the coast beyond Lebida, the ancient Leptis Magna, not far from Mesurata. From this point it turns directly towards the south. Great Leptis, therefore, was the staple town for the caravan trade; its extensive remains still bear witness of its ancient splendour[b]. It is here that persons arriving from the interior catch a first glimpse of the sea; and those who journey towards central Africa take their leave of it, as it is no farther visible. The first place on the road is Bonjem, on the northern boundary of

[z] Herod. iv, 185. [a] *Narrative*, chap. viii, ix, p. 290—334.

[b] The remains of the walls, pillars, etc. are in the gigantic style. *Narrative*, p. 337.

Fezzan, 30½° N. Lat.; the next is Sockna 29° 5′; farther on is Sebha 27° 2′, and next is Mourzouk, or Zuila, the distance being the same to each. The road lies partly through the desert; but travellers never provide water for more than five days, as there are several fertile districts on the way. This route, therefore, seems appointed by nature, for on both sides, to the east and west, are uninterrupted wastes. It was also the ancient route. Should any one question it, the exact agreement of the time stated by Herodotus, with that of Captain Lyon, will convince him. He departed from Mourzouk the 10th of February, with rather a small caravan, consisting of loaded camels and slaves, which were joined by others on the way. His day's journeys were, therefore, of the usual length of the caravans. On the 17th of March he came in sight of the Mediterranean, between Lebida and Mesurata, in the country of the ancient Lotophagi. His journey therefore took up thirty-six days, six of which he halted at Sockna, and which being deducted from the whole amount leave thirty, exactly the number stated by Herodotus[c].

We have therefore now shown that the route from the country of the Lotophagi, and like-

[c] Hornemann performed the whole of the journey from Mourzouk to Tripoli in fifty-one days. His statement, however, cannot be taken as a rule; as he himself remarks that he journeyed very leisurely; and the number of halting days, which he has not mentioned, are included.

wise from Carthage, to Fezzan in the interior of Africa, was a common and well-known route, respecting which, and that from Upper Egypt to the same place, no doubt can remain. The routes, however, described by Herodotus, do not end in the country of the Garamantes, though they meet there. He carries us still twenty days' journey farther, to the seat of the Atarantes, and finally to the Atalantes, where, as he himself confesses, his knowledge ends. Thus far we have been able to follow him, conducted by modern travellers who have trod exactly in his footsteps. Now, however, these guides gradually, though not altogether, leave us. The Narrative of Lyon, in connection with that of the latest adventurers, which has already found its way to Europe[d], will direct us a little farther on the road. The reader, however, will be aware, that probability is all that can be now expected. I hope, however, to render this more than empty conjecture.

Recent discoveries have changed in one important feature, the geography of the interior of Africa. They show that the great empire of Bornou, which is placed in our maps to the south-west of Fezzan, lies almost directly south. Mourzouk the capital of Fezzan, and

[d] See above p. 13. [Heeren adds in this note that he made use of Denham, Clapperton, and Oudeny's Narratives, as given in the *Quarterly Review, Dec.* 1823; *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1824, *etc.* It scarcely needs be mentioned that the full Narrative of their Travels and Researches have been since published.]

Lari the boundary city, together with Angornou the most considerable town of the Bornou empire, lay in succession almost exactly under the same meridian[e]. These accounts, resting upon accurate information, and not upon hearsay statements, throw a light upon the direction in which were situated the series of tribes enumerated by Herodotus.

Herodotus has no farther determined this direction than by saying, that it stretches along the border of the great desert. Probably he thought it enough to say it here run along to the west, without stating anything particular respecting it. That it did not, however, continue full west, but swerved to the south, the previous inquiry and Herodotus's statement respecting the abode of the Garamantes, have already shown. It will not therefore be straining the meaning of his words to give it a more southerly direction. By taking this course it also runs along the border of the desert, which is here occasionally relieved by fertile patches; while on the contrary, a full westerly direction from Fezzan would lead into the midst of the great desert which he himself held to be impenetrable and inaccessible.

Without attempting, however, to bias the judgment of the reader, or to pass that for more than probable which is still doubtful, let me be yet allowed to urge separately

[e] N. Annales, p. 137.

the reasons, which induce me to believe that those two tribes must be sought for in a direction south of the Garamantes.

The country of the Garamantes, or Fezzan, has always been a principal seat of the trade of inner Africa and the negro countries. This appears from the statements of the Arabian geographers, and from those of the latest travellers[f]. It is here that the caravans assemble which go to Bornou, and to the southern countries, comprised under the name of Soudan, or Nigritia. It is not, however, a country rich in natural productions; but is merely, from its position, the great mart for the trade carried on between the countries on both sides of the desert.

Surely then, when we find this place mentioned in antiquity as the point where the commercial roads from Egypt and from the Carthaginian territory joined, without however ending here, we must admit that the conjecture thereby obtains great force, that it was at that time what it has been since; and that the continuation of the route would run towards the south. This opinion will acquire additional force if we remember the permanency, of which we have already spoken, of the commercial intercourse in this quarter of the world.

To this it may be added, that the articles of commerce obtained here, show that such an

[f] HORNEMANN, p. 186.

intercourse existed. The slaves and precious stones obtained by the Carthaginians from the country of the Garamantes, necessarily presuppose an intercourse with the more distant countries where both these articles were to be procured.

Let us see, then, who these Atarantes are, to whom a new journey of ten days would bring us, and where they are to be found. What direction must the caravans now take, so as not to miss them? Since we have determined to follow the great road towards Bornou and Soudan, we discover them in the territory of Tegerry, the most southern place reached by Captain Lyon.

Tegerry is the frontier town of Fezzan towards the south, in 24° 4′ N. Lat. According to Lyon it is the usual halting place for the caravans which come through the desert from Bornou, and frequently of those which come from Soudan[s]. The inhabitants sell, at a high price, the necessaries of life to the half-famished merchants. Dates are the only things to be had cheap and of any quantity. The cultivation of the date-palm, however, ends here. On the south of the city the desert immediately begins. The springs contain brackish water; salt cannot, therefore, be wanted, although this is not expressly remarked. The exact distance from Zuila, as marked on Captain

[s] *Narrative*, p. 240, 241.

Lyon's chart is one hundred and sixty miles; which, according to the usual course of the caravans, certainly amounts to no more than eight days' journey[h]. I must leave my readers to choose, whether they will take the days' journey at something shorter, or include the last two in the following station, which, as we shall presently see, amounts to something more than ten days' journey.

Although Tegerry belongs to Fezzan, yet it is here, according to Captain Lyon, that the Arabian language ends and the Bornou begins. And it is certainly a very extraordinary fact, that here, likewise, a report handed down to us by Herodotus, should be confirmed by a late account of Bornou, written too by a traveller who knew nothing of his history, and who lived almost two thousand years after him[i].

"The Atarantes," says Herodotus, "have among them no proper names for individuals, and are the only people of this sort." This is certainly a most extraordinary fact, as not one of our modern travellers has met with anything of a similar kind, even among the rudest na-

[h] This is the time it took Capt. Lyon (*Narrative*, p. 219—238.) although he did not travel with a laden caravan, for which ten days would scarcely seem too much. A difference of one or two days' journey in ten, almost always happens to single travellers from accidental causes.

[i] Leo, p. 255. He also says of this same people, p. 247, that they invoke, with great vehemence, the rising sun. Does this explain Herodotus's account of the imprecations which they utter against it? It must besides be particularly remarked that Leo had not read Herodotus. He knew nothing but Arabic, and a little Italian, which he only learned in his old age. But if he had read it, it would not have lessened the force of his evidence.

tions. Notwithstanding this, Leo of Africa relates exactly the same thing of the inhabitants of Bornou, to the south of Fezzan; and give us at the same time a clew to this difficult question. "A merchant," says he, "who came from the empire of Bornou, and had lived for a considerable period among its people, informed me that there were no proper names whatever among them. All are called after their height, thickness, or some other accidental quality, and have, therefore, merely nicknames." How far this account may be worthy of credit, is a matter of no importance; it proves in either case, the existence of a tradition in Africa which confirms the fact mentioned by Herodotus respecting his Atarantes, in the time of Leo; and certainly, respecting a people who dwelt within the boundaries of the very extensive empire of Bornou. We also find another example in the Narrative of Captain Lyon[k] which farther confirms it: a black wife of Mukni, sultan of Fezzan, who came from that country, was named Zaitoon, (olive-tree); probably from her shape.

We have now only to fix the last station mentioned by Herodotus: that of the Atlantes, which closes his account of the Libyan tribes. At this point Captain Lyon leaves us as an eye-witness; nevertheless the information he collected, in connection with the narrative of later British travellers, throws a light upon the state-

[k] *Narrative, p. 59.*

ment of Herodotus, which is truly surprising. The route holds the same direction; and is a continuation of the great commercial road to Bornou. It leads to Bilma, the principal seat of the Tibboos; just mid-way between Mourzouk and Lari, the frontier town of Bornou, we find the Atlantes of Herodotus. The distance from Tegerry is stated by Capt. Lyon to be eighteen days' journey, but only of eight hours each[l]; others reckon it no more than seventeen[m], which, according to the usual manner of reckoning, amount to somewhere about twelve or thirteen days' journey. Greater accuracy than this can scarcely be expected. If, however, we add the two day's journeys which are over, to the distance from Zuila to Tegerry, we have exactly the number of twenty days' journey, which, to agree with Herodotus, is required from the Garamantes to the Atlantes; and there only remains the discrepancy, that the intervening station of the Atarantes does not lie exactly in the midst.

The Atlantes, according to Herodotus, dwelt on a very high mountain, steep and round on every side. It is so lofty that the inhabitants call it the pillar of heaven; a salt-lake lies in its neighbourhood[n]. The district of Bilma, we are told by Lyon, is very mountainous, having large rocky tracts of perfectly black stone[o].

[l] *Narrative*, p. 244.
[m] *Narrative*, p. 265.
[n] See p. 199.
[o] *Narrative*, p. 266.

Some of these rocks are so high and steep that their tops are scarcely visible; or as the Arabians express it in their figurative language, "you cannot see their top without losing your cap." According to the latest travellers, it is upon these rocks that are situated, in order that they may be secure from the attacks of the Tauriks, the four towns of the Tibboos, of which Bilma is the most important[p]. How well does Herodotus's description apply to this neighbourhood. Another circumstance is still to be noticed. Bilma is the great salt mart for the negro countries: thirty thousand camel loads are yearly carried from its salt-lakes by the Tuariks to Soudan[q]. Nature herself prescribes this commerce, as no salt is to be found farther south[r]. Does not this offer us a very natural reason, why Herodotus's information respecting these tribes should end here? It was the great market where the tribes exchanged their commodities with one another. A similar circumstance occurs in the steppes of central Asia, among the Argippæi[s].

The reader is still at liberty to adopt or reject

[p] N. *Annales des Voyages*, p. 137. They are named Kiskbi, Aschanuma [illegible], and Bilma.

[q] *Annales*, l. c.

[r] *Proceedings*, p. 252, 253. "The merchants of Kashna and Agades," [illegible]re said, "go every year in numerous caravans to Bilma, to fetch salt, [illegible]they cannot procure at a shorter distance." The reader who will [illegible]e trouble to compare this now settled question with the former editions [illegible]work, will find that the results are the same; only the proofs—thanks [illegible]ded discoveries—are new.

[s] Researches on Asia.

the observations I have here made; but before taking leave of the narrative of Herodotus, let us cast a glance at the last wonder he mentions relating to inner Africa[t]. "Ten days' journey into the great desert is a salt mine (ἁλὸς μέταλλον). The inhabitants there build their huts with blocks of salt, because no rain of any kind ever falls there. The salt which they dig is partly white and partly coloured; beyond these places a completely barren desert follows."

The same account is given almost verbatim in Leo Africanus's description of the large salt mines of Tegaza, in the heart of the desert, where he himself was detained for three days. According to his account[u] they are situated on the south-east border of the desert of Zanhaga[x], and are about twenty days' journey from Tombuctoo. They were worked by people sent there for that purpose, who dwell in miserable huts about the entrance of the mines.

[t] HEROD. iv, 185. The connection of the passage in Herodotus shows plainly that this is neither the continuation of his description of the caravan route, nor a repetition of what he had said before; but only the account of a remarkable particular of which he had been informed. He therefore says: ten days' journey *into* the desert, not on the borders as he himself thought the others. The preciseness of Herodotus in his choice of expressions is one of his greatest merits. He always says exactly what he should. How carefully he has here distinguished by the expressions ἁλὸς μέταλλον these *salt mines* from the *salt hills*.

[u] LEO, p. 224, 946.

[x] *Zanhaga*, according to Leo, is the name of the western part of the desert between Morocco and Tombuctoo, it joins the often-mentioned desert of Zuenziga. The sandy region is here the broadest and the most dangerous to travellers.

Their food is brought them; and they not unfrequently perish of hunger, or become blind by the fiery heat. From these mines of white and coloured salt, it is that the negro countries on the Niger, belonging to the empire of Tombuctoo, are supplied with this necessary article. Large caravans of merchants travel there to procure it.

Let the reader judge for himself how far these two accounts agree; the statement of neither writer is sufficiently precise to enable us to determine exactly the situation of the salt mines spoken of. Whether, however, they are the same or different (for many such may perhaps be found in this vast desert), they at least convince us how well Herodotus was acquainted with everything remarkable in the desert, and how true his statements are. Short-sighted critics have often calumniated his manes; but the silence of the desert remains, in awful grandeur, an eternal witness of his credibility!

The regions of antiquity, which distance has so long mystified, and which have been buried, as it were, in a night of centuries, again begin to dawn. It is time, however, that we should draw to a close; let us, therefore, first collect, as well as we can, into general views, the great variety of circumstances which have come before us.

Respecting the commercial intercourse in general, of the nations of interior Africa, no doubt can now remain; the vestiges that are left prove how active it must once have been. It has

been shown that the places and districts which were its principal seats in antiquity have continued so to the present day. But how inferior its actual state, compared with what it was formerly, is amply proved by the monuments which still remain. What is the present Siwah opposed to ancient Ammonium; what even Cairo itself opposed to the royal Thebes? And yet it was the commerce of which we have been speaking, knit perhaps by certain religious ties (now transplanted to Mecca), to which they were indebted for their magnificence and splendour. May we not then, or rather, must we not, measure by *this* standard the magnitude and importance of this trade in those days? Then, when the north coast of Africa, instead of being overrun by barbarians, was occupied by mighty civilized nations; by nations in whom commerce, if not the only was at least the ruling passion.

Farther: the principal articles of commerce were then the same as they are now: salt, dates, slaves, and gold. The caravans had a profitable motive for passing through districts where salt was plentiful. Here they could load their camels free of expense with this commodity, which in the negro countries met with a sure and ready sale for slaves and gold dust. Respecting the traffic in the human species, its extent, and its arrangements, we have seen, as well in the interior of Africa as in Carthage and its foreign possessions, so many examples, that farther observations are quite

unnecessary. I shall only add this single remark, that the slave trade of Africa at that time, as well as now, was mainly directed to females, who in the Balearian islands were sold for three times as much as the men[y]. Gold dust was always an article much sought for in the negro countries; and how well the Carthaginians understood the trade in this precious metal, has been already shown in the narrative of Herodotus given above. In addition to these commodities there was in antiquity the equally important one of precious stones; particularly of that species called calcedonius, and which derived its name from Carthage[z]. The Carthaginians obtained them, as I have already shown, from the country of the Garamantes, whither they could only be brought from the mountainous districts of central Africa[a]. The calcedonius, or, as it is also called, the carbuncle, holds the first rank among the onynxes; it was made use of for drinking and other vessels; and from the extravagance shown in this respect, we may form some idea of the extent of this trade.

[y] Diodorus, i. p. 344. That the caravans still continue to export more female than male slaves, is evident from the statements of Lyon, Burckhardt, and others.

[z] Καρχηδόνιος λίθος.

[a] Plin. xxxvii, 7. It is known that among the cut stones of antiquity there are many of whose native country we are entirely ignorant. Might not many of these be from central Africa? A remark, which I heard from a learned naturalist, that almost all these unknown stones are of Roman, and not of Greek workmanship, perhaps confirms this conjecture. A better acquaintance with the inner regions of Africa can alone render it certain.

Again: the nations by whom this commerce was chiefly carried on, were the inhabitants of the districts between the two Syrtes; and particularly the Nasamones[b]. The expeditions and hardy journeys of discovery made by this people, are celebrated upon more than one occasion by Herodotus; they indeed imparted to him this information. These tribes and their neighbours still carry on an active trade. The bold inhabitants of Fezzan venture from the borders of the negro lands to the centre of India[c].

The Carthaginians then, by having these tribes under their dominion, held the caravan trade in their own hands; and the otherwise barren districts of the Syrtes became, on that account, one of their most important possessions; and the acquisition of which, tradition continued to celebrate, as having been procured by the voluntary sacrifice of the ambassadors[d]. The Emporia, or cities of Byzacium, on the borders of this territory, were, by their situation, the natural staple places of this trade, of the possession of which Carthage had truly reason to be jealous, and therefore remained completely silent respecting all that concerned it. The commercial intercourse with inner

[b] But that they did not all remain merely carriers, but took also a part in the trade, scarcely requires a proof. They became, in consequence, a very rich people, though they still continued nomads. SYCLAX, p. 49.

[c] *Proceedings*, p. 192.

[d] See above, p. 54.

Africa was also the more easily hid from the world, because Carthage itself was not the place to which the caravans resorted; they were formed in districts scarcely known, and the towns nearest to the borders of the desert were the great staples for their wares.

CARTHAGINIANS.

CHAPTER VII.

War Forces.

ALTHOUGH the history of the Carthaginian wars does not come within the scope of the present work, yet the information respecting this republic would be incomplete, without some notice of its fleet and armies. After a glance at these, we shall be better able to judge of the might of Carthage; and neither the history of her aggrandizement or her fall, could be well understood without it.

Carthage was powerful by sea and by land, limiting, in both cases, the force of this expression to the sense in which it may be used with regard to the states of that period, when the ocean had not yet been brought under the dominion of man; nor large standing armies, even in times of peace, kept in pay.

The idea, however, of maritime dominion, must naturally have presented itself to the Carthaginians[a], as soon as they obtained pos-

[a] DIODORUS, ii. p. 134. 412.

ession of foreign colonies, to which their fleets lone could carry them, and with which the naintenance of a continual and peaceful intercourse was highly necessary, even if the security of their own dominions had not depended pon it. The extent of their navy, and their hole maritime system, was formed to answer is particular purpose.

The operations of their navy was principally nfined to the Mediterranean, or rather to its stern half, and, perhaps, a small portion of e ocean lying just without the Pillars of Hercules. In this part lay the islands which the rthaginians had partially or completely quered; the coasts were here covered with ir colonies; and we may therefrom form me idea of their maritime forces, which turally arose with the necessity of maintaining these in subjection, and consequently of reserving a free communication with them, beside securing a passage over for their troops and f defending their settlements from the approach f foreign enemies. To effect all this it required o more than an uninterrupted navigation of ie seas, and secure stations for their fleets. hen engagements took place in the open sea, aval tactics were not much wanted; distant yages of warlike squadrons were at this period holly unnecessary, and therefore unknown.

But even this dominion of the sea, limited as was, had to be won from powerful rivals, id was not obtained without many struggles.

They had the Etrurians in Italy, the Greeks in Syracuse and Massilia to contend with; and when at last they might have flattered themselves with having wrested the prize from these, the most formidable of all their rivals started up in Rome, where it was soon felt, that without the dominion of the sea, it was impossible to humble the pride of Carthage. There is no doubt but it was a continual jealousy of these powers which gradually developed the strength of the republic; and a due consideration of the long series of victories and defeats, even for centuries, which it cost it to maintain its preponderance, will give us the best means of estimating the powerful resources which it must have possessed.

Upon the nature and strength of the Carthaginian navy we are better informed than upon most other matters relating to that republic. Writers had so frequent occasion to speak of it, that they could not well avoid leaving us many particulars respecting it.

The principal harbour of the republic for its ships of war, was in the capital itself[b]. This had a double harbour, an outward and an inner one, so arranged that vessels were obliged to sail through the first to arrive at the other. An entrance, seventy feet wide, which might be barred with a chain, led to the outer, ap-

[b] For the following particulars we are indebted to APPIAN, i, p. 435–438 and 482. Other Carthaginian cities however had harbours and docks for vessels of war, as Hippo, for example. APPIAN, i, p. 459.

propriated solely to merchant vessels, which could here safely ride at anchor. On one side of this a broad bank, or quay, ran along, upon which the merchandise was unladen, and delivered to purchasers; and a gate opened from it into the city, without passing through the inner harbour. This latter was separated from the outward one by a double wall, and was destined to receive only vessels of war. In its centre arose a lofty island from which the open sea could be plainly seen. The station of the commander of the fleet was upon this isle, where signals were made, and watches kept, and from which could be seen all that was going forward at sea, without those at sea being able to look into the interior of the harbour. The island as well as the harbour was strongly fortified, and surrounded with high banks, along which the docks, or depôts for the war-galleys, two hundred and twenty in number, were situated. Above these, in an equal number of divisions, were the magazines, containing everything necessary for the outfit of the ships[c]. At the entrance of each dock stood two Ionic columns, which, as they were ranged round the island and the harbour, gave the whole the appearance of a magnificent portico.

c Without doubt, therefore, every ship had its store-house, as they also have in our modern harbours. It seems likely that these magazines were of wood; for under Dionysius I. a report was spread that they were burnt, whereupon he built a vain hope that their fleet had suffered the same fate. Diodorus, ii. p. 60.

The war-ships of the Carthaginians, previous to the time of the Roman wars, seem to have been triremes; of which the history of their wars with Syracuse gives several proofs[d]. But the custom of building larger vessels, which had been much followed since the time of Alexander the Great, particularly by Demetrius the town-taker, seems also to have been adopted by the Carthaginians; and even in their first war with Rome their fleets consisted of quinqueremes[e]; a vessel indeed with seven banks of oars is mentioned, though only as one captured from their enemies[f].

The navigation of the Carthaginians was under the protection of their gods, of whom the sea-deities, their Poseidon, Triton, and the Cabiri, formed a separate class[g]. Images of these deities were placed upon the hinder part of their ships (especially of their ships of war), some of which bore, if we may rely upon the evidence of a poet, their names[h].

The usual number of their ships of war, or

[d] As for example, in DIODORUS, ii, p. 9, and in other places where he speaks of the Carthaginian fleets. There seems in general, no doubt but that the Carthaginians, in their naval architecture, followed the Grecian school, especially that of Syracuse. Necessity must have led them to it.

[e] This is clear from POLYBIUS, i, p. 158, 159.

[f] POLYB. i, p. 58. It was built by Pyrrhus.

[g] MUNTER, *Religion of the Carthaginians*, p. 97, etc.

[h] SILIUS ITALICUS, lib. xiv. In the description of the sea-fight and the burning of the fleet; especially v. 572.

Uritur undivagus Python, et corniger Ammon,
Et quæ Sidonios vultus portabat Elissæ;
Et Triton captivus, et ardua rupibus Ætne, etc.

It certainly is not improbable that this was the case.

galleys, seems almost determined by the arrangement of the harbour, which agrees very well with what other information we have as to the strength of their fleets[i]. The number of vessels of war mentioned in the Syracusan war, by creditable writers, varies from a hundred and fifty to two hundred. It was greater in the first war with Rome, when their maritime force in general seems to have attained its highest pitch. In the fatal naval engagement by which Regulus opened for himself a way to Africa, the Carthaginian fleet consisted of three hundred and fifty galleys with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and that of the Romans of three hundred and thirty galleys with one hundred and forty thousand men[k].

The navy of Carthage was manned partly by fighting men (ἐπιβάται), and partly by rowers; so that a quinquereme contained one hundred and twenty of the former and three hundred of the latter[l]. The number of rowers contributed in a great measure to that velocity in their movements,

[i] Diodorus, i, p. 685, 691; ii, 134. Though the same writer in two other passages (vol. i, p. 419, 606), mentions various greater numbers yet they are evidently exaggerated, for which we may thank the Ephor. It remains to say that transports were always distinguished from vessels of war among the Carthaginians.

[k] Polyb. i, p. 66. The description of this engagement gives the best idea of the naval tactics of that period. The wedge-shaped formed fleet of the Romans broke through that of the Carthaginians, who had taken a position with the view of outflanking them. Above fifty ships were sunk in the battle, and sixty-four captured by the Romans. Above thirty thousand men perished. According to these statements, are not our greatest sea battles mere skirmishes compared with those of that time?

[l] Polyb. l. c.

for which the Carthaginian vessels are expressly stated to have been distinguished [m]. These rowers were composed of slaves bought by the state for this particular purpose [n], and who, as they required practice, formed without doubt a standing body, that was in part, or altogether, kept up in time of peace. The quickness with which they manned their squadrons would otherwise be inexplicable.

The commanders of their fleet were distinguished from those of their land forces, to whom they were subordinate in those undertakings in which they acted in concert [o]. At other times they received their orders from the senate, which were not unfrequently sealed, and could not be broken open till the bearer arrived at a certain destination [p]. The victories of their fleets were celebrated by public rejoicings, and their defeat by public mourning. In the latter case the walls of the city were hung with black, and the fore part of the vessels were spread over with skins [q].

The situation of the republic, and the whole

[m] As superior to the Syracusans, DIODORUS, ii, p. 409, and to the Romans. POLYB. i, p. 130.

[n] According to APPIAN, i, p. 315, Asdrubal bought, during the second war with Rome, five thousand slaves at one time as rowers. Another proof of the extent of the Carthaginian slave trade. What market of Africa could now supply so many at one time?

[o] POLYB. i, p. 223. Hamilcar had his son-in-law, Asdrubal, in this manner under him.

[p] DIODORUS, i, p. 685, cf. POLYÆN. v, x, 2.

[q] DIODORUS, i, p. 422; ii, p. 399, 412. The meaning in the last custom is doubtful. Were they not perhaps black sheep skins?

course of its affairs, must naturally have led the Carthaginians to consider their navy as their main strength. This accounts for their paying so much attention to it, and its obtaining a degree of perfection, to which, as Polybius expressly remarks, their land forces would bear no comparison[r]. The many wars however in which the republic was engaged, and the maintenance of its large possessions, obliged it to keep large armies almost continually in the field. Here again, however, Carthage had regulations and designs peculiar to herself. Here we again recognise the policy of a commercial state, which chose rather to pay others to fight her battles, than to engage in them herself; and made even this policy the foundation of a commerce with distant nations.

It is evident, that in a state like Carthage not more than a small proportion of the citizens could devote themselves to the profession of arms; yet it is clear that this profession had a charm for the higher classes and nobles of the republic[s]. This explains Polybius's remark, that the land forces of the Carthaginians were neglected, with the exception of the cavalry[t]; the expense of which, as it made the service costly, endeared it in the eyes of these classes[u];

[r] Polyb. ii, p. 564.

[s] See Diodorus, ii, p. 144, 399, 414.

[t] Polyb. ii, p. 565.

[u] But that in times of necessity the others also armed themselves will easily be understood. In one case of this sort the city of Carthage furnished forty thousand foot and one thousand horse. Diodorus, ii, p. 413, 450.

to whom it was farther enhanced by the outward marks of dignity, the rings, which belonged to it. One of these was allowed to be worn for every campaign which had been made[x]. In the large Carthaginian armies we always find the number of proper Carthaginians small in proportion to the whole[y]. They formed, either altogether, or in part, a separate corps, dignified with the title of the *sacred legion*, which seems to have been a sort of body guard of the general, not less distinguished by its valour than by its splendour, which was equally conspicuous in the equipments and drinking-vessels of its members[z].

The great armies which Carthage brought into the field, consisted then almost entirely of foreigners, whom they hired. Conquering commercial states, at all times, fall, to a certain degree, into some such custom, which is only changed in form by temporary circumstances. What, indeed, are the subsidies granted in the present day, but a modification of the same system? Scarcely any state however carried it so far as the Carthaginian: almost half Africa and Europe were in the pay of that rich republic.

[x] Aristot. *Polit.* vii, 2. Does not this explain why Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, sent the rings of the Roman knights that were slain to Carthage, with the remark, that only knights durst wear them among the Romans? Livy, xxiii, 12.

[y] In an army of seventy thousand men there were only two thousand five hundred. Diodorus, ii, p. 143, 414.

[z] Diodorus, l. c. It seems however from this passage, that this *sacred legion* did not consist of cavalry but heavy-armed infantry.

A Carthaginian army, therefore, would have been a more interesting spectacle for one who desired to study the human species than for any information it afforded respecting military tactics. It was an assemblage of the most opposite races of the human species, from the farthest parts of the globe. Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Phœnici-Africans formed the centre; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses, and formed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed as it were a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army.

The Carthaginians formed their armies designedly, as Polybius remarks[a], of these various nations, that the difference in their languages might prevent them plotting conspiracies and tumults.

In respect to the mixed and heterogeneous mass of which it was composed, the army of Carthage bore a resemblance to that of the Persians. The latter united in itself the nations of the east, as did the former the tribes of the west. At one time only were these two

[a] Polyb. i, p. 167.

states allied,—in the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and the enterprise of the Carthaginians against Sicily. Had circumstances permitted these two armies, at that time, to unite, what a remarkable exhibition they would have presented,—a muster of nearly all the varieties of the human species at that time known?

But even the Carthaginian army alone, when fully assembled, offers a considerable variety; and it comes exactly within the scope of my plan to examine, in detail, this interesting spectacle.

The number of Carthaginian citizens in their armies was not, as has been already said, very considerable, although the corps itself was the most splendid of the whole. Their African subjects, which are always mentioned by Polybius under the name of Libyans[b], constituted the sinews of their armies. They served both on horse and foot; and composed as well a part of the heavy cavalry, as of the heavy-armed infantry[c]. Their weapons consisted of long lances, which Hannibal after the battle of Thrasymene exchanged for Roman arms[d].

Next to these stood bodies of Spanish and Gallic or Celtic troops. Spanish soldiers were among the best disciplined of the Carthaginian armies, and generally served as heavy-armed infantry. Their uniform consisted of white

[b] Polyb. i, p. 161, 196, 458. etc.; iii, p. 359.
[c] Ibid. i, 647.
[d] Ibid. i, p. 584.

linen vests bordered with red; and a large sword, with which they could either cut or thrust, was their principal weapon [e].

Tribes of Gauls fought at an early period in the armies of Carthage. I can discover nowhere the least hint respecting what part of Gaul they were hired from; but I conjecture, from that lying nearest the Mediterranean. It seems however that the rudest and most savage tribes were chosen. They went entirely naked except a girdle, and fought with a sword only adapted for striking [f].

Italy also supplied the Carthaginians with soldiers of several tribes. Ligurians appeared in their armies at the commencement of the wars with Rome [g], and the Campanians even in those of Syracuse [h]; Greeks also were in their pay, but probably not before the Roman wars [i].

The Balearic slingers were a kind of light

[e] The most accurate account of the arms and clothing of the various troops will be found in POLYBIUS, i, p. 648.

[f] They cast away their clothes in battle, POLYB. i, p. 287. The same writer also mentions them (i, p. 39.) as in the Carthaginian pay before the time of the Roman wars.

[g] POLYB. i, p. 39. Compare Herodotus's list (vii, 165.) of the nations of which Hamilcar's army was composed at the invasion of Sicily, B. C. 480, there were Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Lygians, Sardinians, and Corsicans, together, three hundred thousand men. We likewise learn, from the same passage, that the death of this Hamilcar was regarded as a sacrifice, that he was worshipped as a hero with offerings, and that monuments were erected to him in all their colonial cities (πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων), HEROD. vii, 167.

[h] DIODORUS, i, 605.

[i] POLYB. i, p. 82. Perhaps the Sicilian wars against Pyrrhus, which had a great influence upon the military affairs in general of Carthage, gave them the first idea of so doing.

troops peculiar to the Carthaginian army. They usually formed a corps of about a thousand men; and their powerful hurl had nearly the effect of our small muskets. Their stones dashed to pieces buckler and armour, and in a battle against the Syracusans they gained the victory for the Carthaginians[k].

But the main strength of the Carthaginian armies consisted in general of their light cavalry, of which they found an abundant supply in the nomad races on both sides of their territory. These hordes have always possessed, and do even now, an excellent breed of horses. They are in a manner born horsemen, being accustomed from their youth to exercise themselves and their fleet steeds in skirmishes and battles. All these tribes, from the neighbouring Massyli to the more distant Maurusii, who dwelt on the western ocean, in the present Fez and Morocco, were wont to fight in the Carthaginian armies, and to remain in Carthaginian pay[l]: from the east of their state, as far as Cyrene, the Carthaginians also drew levies, both in Africa and Europe,

[k] Diodorus, ii, p. 399, 401. cf. Polyb. i, 647.

[l] Polyb. i, p. 458. This author enumerates four different tribes of these nomads from the territory of Carthage to the ocean: the Massyli, the Massæsyli, the Makkæi (upon whose name critics disagree), and the Maurusii, the most distant of them. All these tribes had their princes, chiefs, or kings (just as writers choose to call them), whom the Carthaginians always had for allies, and whose friendship they endeavoured by every means to preserve, especially by marriages with Carthaginian ladies of rank. Besides the example of Syphax, there is another in Polyb. i, p. 193. When an army was to be raised, Carthage sent senators to these chiefs to make contracts with them respecting the troops to be taken into pay. The tribes then followed their leaders. Diodorus, i, p. 581.

which were managed by senators deputed for that purpose[m]. Bands of these Numidian horsemen fought on small horses without saddles. A halter of twisted rushes served them for bridle, and even for that they scarcely had occasion, so well were their steeds disciplined. The skin of a lion or tiger served both for their dress and their nightly couch, and when they fought on foot a piece of elephant's hide was their shield. Their onset was rendered dreadful by the fleetness and cunning of their horses. Flight was no disgrace to soldiers who only fled to prepare for a new attack[n]. They were to the Carthaginians what the Cossacks are to the Russians. The heavy cavalry *(equi frænati)* consisted, in addition to the Carthaginians themselves, of Libyan, Spanish, and afterwards of Gallic horsemen. All these are often mentioned by Polybius[o].

The Carthaginian military establishment partook of all the advantages and disadvantages, to which great armies, composed of light troops, are generally subject. Among the former were security from sudden attacks, facility of movement, capability of making forced marches and devastating routes, with the consequent impossibility of retreat; among the latter,

[m] Diodorus, i, p. 635. An important passage, which gives us a clear notion of these extensive levies. What great preparations must have been necessary to raise such an army.

[n] Strabo, p. 1184. Appian, i, p. 317.

[o] As for example, i, p. 532, 647.

want of discipline, pestilential disorders, difficulty of transporting horses and elephants by sea[p], and almost certain defeat in regular engagements against well disciplined troops. It required perhaps both the power and genius of a Hannibal to tame these savage hordes, and to discipline them into an army capable of defeating even the legions of Rome!

The way in which the Carthaginians collected their armies, sufficiently accounts for their being so numerous, although we have reasonable grounds to mistrust the large round numbers frequently specified. Even the reduced statements of Timæus[q], makes the amount of their armies much greater in the Syracusan than in the Roman wars, when the numbers could be more exactly ascertained[r]. That the

[p] The remark will generally be found true, that the Carthaginians, wherever it was possible, preferred marching their troops by land, to transporting them by sea. Hamilcar went by land as far as the Straits on his expedition to Spain (Polyb. i, p. 222.), Hannibal went by land to Italy. They do not seem to have found out the method of transporting elephants by sea, previous to the Roman wars (Diodorus, ii, p. 502.); at least we have no example of it in the earlier wars with Syracuse. They most probably learnt the use of elephants in warfare from Pyrrhus, and adopted them because Africa supplied them with these animals. The hunting of them must have been carried on upon a large scale, as even their first generals were sent out for that purpose, as Asdrubal, Giscon's son. Appian, i, p. 314. In the earlier times they made use of war-chariots instead. It is uncertain whether they imported this invention from Phœnicia;—we know from the wars of Joshua that they were not unknown there;—or whether they adopted them from the African tribes, with whom they were native, as among the Garamantes and the Zaueces. Herod. iv, 183, 193. The contagious disease in their armies deserves a separate inquiry. Was it really the plague? I doubt. See Diodorus, i, p. 697.

[q] See above, p. 23.

[r] According to the accurate statements of Hannibal, copied by Polybius

republic, however, with her numerous resources, could easily raise an army of an hundred thousand men, requires no farther proof.

Carthage only required armies of this magnitude in time of war; there is, however, no doubt but that a certain force was kept embodied during peace[s]. The numerous garrisons of the provinces were mostly composed of mercenaries[t], as was also that of the capital[u]. The triple walls of the city contained both quarters for the troops and magazines for military stores. Each of these, on the inner side, had a double row of vaulted chambers. The lower ones contained stalls for three hundred elephants, and repositories for their food. In the upper were formed stables for four thousand horses, together with the necessary storehouses; and quarters for twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry[x]. These troops were under the command of a particular governor of the city[y].

from the monuments which he left behind at Lacinium, his army did not amount upon its arrival in Italy (where it certainly was soon reinforced by Gauls), to above twenty-six thousand men; and the African troops left behind in Spain, under his brother Asdrubal to thirteen thousand four hundred. POLYB. i, p. 459, 511.

[s] DIODORUS, ii, p. 457, gives a clear proof that such troops were kept always in pay.

[t] As in Sardinia. POLYB. i, p. 195, 203.

[u] Compare the accounts of the garrison which Hannibal placed here. POLYB. i, p. 459.

[x] APPIAN, i, p. 436.

[y] POLYB. i, 163. ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγός.

These accounts naturally lead us to reflections, which enable us to estimate fairly the real strength of the republic.

Armies of hired troops can at no time completely supply the place of native warriors fighting for their home and their country. The moral excitement is wanting. The overpowering genius of a great man, joined to long exercise, as was the case in the two wars with Rome, may make such an army for some time formidable, but such a leader cannot always be found. In the war carried on against the ruler of Syracuse, mercenaries were mostly opposed to mercenaries, and here the balance was equally poised; in the wars against Rome they had to contend with Romans, and Carthage could not fail in the end to be subdued.

On the other hand, this system was so far of advantage to the republic, that foreign defeats caused but little harm: it was only the head of the hydra, which grew again as often as it was cut off. What did it matter to Carthage, whether a hundred thousand barbarians, more or less, remained in the world, so long as she had the power to replace them, and the money to pay them with[z]? To cut off these supplies was to paralyze the sinews of the state; and

[z] How light the Carthaginians made of these troops is shown by two striking examples. A band of them, which had begun to mutiny, was left upon one of the Liparian islands to famish. DIODORUS, i, p. 339. And Himilco left a whole army of them to shift for themselves; when he merely bought the retreat of the Carthaginians. DIODORUS, i, p. 700.

Roman policy did not fail to turn its attention to this point. Scipio forbade them to enlist troops in Europe[a]; and Massinissa improved the nomads of Africa into agriculturists[b].

Finally, it will be easily seen that this system of war was closely connected with their commercial policy. National intercourse, and national alliances could not be better promoted than in this way. By this a number of distant nations learned to know one another as comrades in arms; and all considered themselves as allies of Carthage, for whose interest they fought. How easy must the Carthaginian merchants have found access to these nations, when they everywhere found friends and old acquaintance? This must also have paved the way to the extension of their dominion. It is only by this that we can account for the otherwise inconceivably rapid conquest of Spain, which Carthage, after the first Roman war, completed in a few years, and which, nevertheless, occupied Rome afterwards for above a century.

Upon the whole, however, this system could afford the republic but little internal security. The impossibility of calling an army like this together in a short time, must have made every sudden attack dreadful. Their enemies soon found this out; and repeated examples have

[a] Appian, i, p. 370.
[b] Appian, i, p. 452. Strabo, p. 1190.

shown that their fleets were not always sufficient to repel invasion. As often as this happened, a struggle for life or death must have ensued; and although they might easily make good the loss of a foreign defeat, yet, in every war upon their own ground, their ALL rested upon the cast of a die.

CHAPTER VIII.

Decline and Fall.

To portray the causes of the decline and fall of mighty states, necessarily requires long and profound meditation. Where does history instruct us, if not here? These inquiries, however, certainly possess a much higher interest when applied to the history of free states, than when applied to monarchies: for though in the latter the talents and characters of the rulers are more accurately determined, the other rivets our attention by the instruction it affords us of the true grounds of their prosperity and decline. But among all the republics of the ancient world, there is, perhaps, no one which unites in itself so much to make a detail of the causes of its fall interesting to every age, as that of Carthage. It does not, however, seem that any one has yet thrown that light upon it, which, from the foregoing accounts, might reasonably be expected. The decay of Carthage has been supposed sufficiently accounted for by the increasing preponderance of Rome;

and if any one has cast a glance into the interior of the republic, it is only to speak of a faction headed by Hanno, which endeavoured to oppose the family of Barca from the hereditary hate they bore it, in consequence of its having formerly prevented supplies from being sent to Hannibal in Italy. Every reader[a] must feel how unsatisfactory such remarks are; let me, then, venture to hope that the following discussion will lead to a more intelligible and accurate, though somewhat different view.

We have already pointed out, in the inquiry on the government of Carthage, the epoch from which we must date its internal decay: namely, the first peace with Rome[b]. The seeds of the evils, however, must have been sown much earlier, as two abuses in particular had already taken deep root; namely, the sale of the highest places, which also presupposes bribery at elections, and the accumulation of several high offices in the same person[c]. Nevertheless, the

[a] The cause of all these incorrect views may doubtless be attributed to Livy's having been considered the chief authority. I think, however, that I have shown how careless he was of everything respecting the internal state of Carthage; and I am not the least afraid that any reader, who has a proper sense of criticism, will contradict me upon this head. Polybius, in this respect, certainly ranks far above him; but in the period which is here decisive, namely, from the end of the mercenary to the beginning of the second Roman war, he is so unpardonably short (his narrative, i, p. 222, does not fill a single octavo page), that he can scarcely be quoted as an authority. The basis of my opinion, on the contrary, are the statements in the fragments of Diodorus, especially the twenty-fifth book, *Op.* ii, p. 510, 511, and 567, and Appian, i, 105—110.

[b] See above p. 142. B. C. 241.

[c] Aristot. ii, p. 280.

history of Rome, as well as that of some modern states, teaches us, that the sale of the higher offices is not quite so quick, and so necessarily an absolute evil as might at the first glance be supposed[d]. It is commonly known how the parliamentary votes are managed in England; and formerly in France the sale of almost every place was lawful. How far such arrangements are likely to become pernicious, will depend in general upon the morals and patriotic feeling of the nation. In an aristocratic free government, like Carthage, it is perhaps the least hurtful; because the rich, who outbid their competitors for places of honour, must, from their having the greatest stake in the country, have the most interest in maintaining the constitution and internal tranquillity: experience has at least sufficiently confirmed this with regard to Carthage. Enough of the history of that republic is known to make it certain, that, up to the time of the war with Rome, the spirit of the constitution, taken altogether, had not degenerated. This is sufficiently proved by the evidence of Aristotle[e] down to the time he flourished. The two attempts, which had been made by two very powerful men, to subvert the government, had both been frustrated, without farther con-

[d] I need scarcely mention that this is no unconditional defence of such abuses. On the contrary I am perfectly convinced that they must necessarily become dangerous in the end, if not so at first.

[e] Aristot. *Op.* ii, p. 251.

sequences[f]. The dominion of the senate continued undisturbed; and, what of itself is a decisive proof, we hear nothing, down to this time, of factions in the republic.

During however the first war with Rome, the seeds of corruption were sown; and the man who sowed them was Hamilcar Barca. Thus it was the fate of the republic that the very house which became the support of the tottering fabric of the state, should be the same which first undermined its foundation.

It is generally known how gloriously this wonderful man opened his career, when only a youth, in the first war with Rome. Even at that time he appeared, by maintaining himself during six years in Sicily, as one of those superior geniuses, who, leaving the footsteps of their predecessors, form new systems of their own. Unconquered, and with a threatening attitude, he at last signed that treaty which for ever deprived the republic of its bulwark, Sicily[g].

Immediately after this peace, Africa itself became unexpectedly the theatre of a contention of a still more formidable nature, in which Hamilcar acted a principal part. Immediately after the close of the war the republic wished to disband the mercenaries, whom they could now do without; and they had the imprudence to admit an army of thirty thousand men into

[f] See above, p. 112. [g] Polyb. i, p. 406.

Africa, at a time when the treasury was so exhausted that it was altogether unable to satisfy their demands. A mutiny was the consequence, which gave rise to a contest that soon assumed all the horrors of a formal civil war, as the rebels were soon joined by many or most of the Carthaginian subjects, among whom they found a couple of the most daring and enterprising leaders. It was not till after a struggle for life and death, and which lasted for four years, that the republic was able to gain the upperhand[h]. Notwithstanding the fortunate termination of this war, it must always be regarded as having laid the foundation for the future calamities of Carthage. During its continuance it gave rise to a private feud between two great men, which was followed by greater consequences than perhaps either of them expected; Hanno, surnamed the Great[i], and Hamilcar Barca. Hanno, before this war, had been governor of one of the African provinces, and had there lately had an opportunity of extending the dominions of the republic by the conquest of the great city of Hecatompylus and its territory[k]. Upon the breaking out of

[h] Polybius gives the particulars of it in his first book.

[i] APPIAN, i, p. 106. He is the same whose party afterwards appears as the party in opposition to that of Hannibal. It seems from APPIAN, i, 348, that he was still alive at the close of the second Roman war, and therefore must have reached a great age. This also accounts for his party having attained so much strength.

[k] POLYB. i, p. 180, 181. DIODORUS, ii, p. 565. He is here called a man fond of fame and extravagant enterprises.

the African war, he was at first appointed general, but so greatly did he disappoint the expectations which had been formed of him, that he brought the republic to the brink of ruin[l]. The blame of this war had been hitherto thrown by the magistrates upon Hamilcar Barca, from his having made such large promises to the mercenaries in Sicily; notwithstanding this, they now saw it necessary to have recourse to him, and accordingly appointed him commander with Hanno. His glorious deeds, however, excited, in a short time, so much the jealousy of his colleague, that the senate soon became sensible, that the command must be left with one alone; and that it might give no offence, it left the choice to the army, who decided in favour of Hamilcar. In consequence of this, Hanno, for the present, was dismissed; but when Fortune again turned her back upon the Carthaginians—when Utica and Hippo had declared for the rebels, and one of the Carthaginian generals had been defeated and taken prisoner—they found it impossible to do without him. A particular deputation, therefore, consisting of thirty of its members, was sent by the senate to promote a reconciliation between these two powerful men[m], and this, being for the moment effected, a successful termination of the war was the happy consequence.

[l] Polyb. i. p. 182, 184, 204. [m] Ibid. p. 215.

But the spirit of faction once raised, did not again die. The enemies of Hamilcar, who not only threw upon him the blame of the war, but also the loss of Sardinia, occasioned by it, attacked him formally, by commencing an impeachment. In this danger Hamilcar sought the support of the people. He gained one of the firmest and most popular among them—his future son-in-law, Asdrubal; he flattered the lower orders, and assembled round him a band of depraved and seditious men[n]. While he was in this manner forming for himself a party among the people, it happened that he was not only acquitted, but obtained moreover a command in Africa (where about this time some commotions had broken out among the Numidians), at first conjointly with Hanno, but afterwards, on the restoration of tranquillity and recall of Hanno, he remained sole general[o].

The appearance of the first general of the republic on the stage as a leader of the people, must necessarily have given a violent shock to the whole fabric of government. The authority of the senate, hitherto unimpaired, and through it the whole existing aristocracy, received a blow which made it totter, and from which it

[n] Diodorus, ii, p. 567. An important passage.

[o] Appian, i, p. 105. The passage of Appian leaves it still undetermined, whether Hamilcar's impeachment during the war of the mercenaries happened before he obtained the command, B. C. 216, or two years later, at its close. By comparing the passages of Diodorus, the latter seems to me most probable, though I am uncertain. With regard to the fact itself the difference is of little consequence.

never completely recovered. Hamilcar was, or threatened to become, the Marius of Carthage.

In this manner there became formed an aristocratic and a democratic party in the republic: the former that of the senate and *optimates*, or higher families, the latter that of the people. It was by the latter that the house of Barca[p] was at first raised. Perhaps, however, this schism might not have been without remedy, or at least might not have produced the effects it did, if it had not given birth to a new project, the final consequences of which to the republic it is impossible to duly estimate.

This project was the conquest of Spain; and if history had not named Hamilcar as the first mover of it, his situation, at the time it originated, would have pointed the finger of conjecture towards him. There is however no contemporary circumstance where so little uncertainty prevails. Indeed, according to the clearest evidence, he undertook the expedition into Spain without the permission of the senate, and was only exculpated by its fortunate results[q]. From this time the conquest

[p] I use this name because Roman writers have used it before me, although it is improper. The name of Barca (*fulmen*) was the personal surname of Hamilcar, and not that of a family, which were not at all in use in Carthage; but surnames, derived from particular attributes, or even from the resemblance to certain animals, were there very common. This also shows that there was no proper family nobility at Carthage, which without family names cannot easily take root.

[q] The greatest proof of this is a passage in APPIAN, i, p. 229. "Hamilcar," he says, "being accused by his enemies for his bad management of the first war with Rome, contrived to procure a command against the

of Spain became the hereditary project of his family, and was the true foundation of its greatness.

It is easy to trace how the situation of Hamilcar's affairs, at that time, might have directed his attention to this enterprise. He had the twofold character of general and demagogue to support at the same time; and he must have soon discovered that great treasures, as well as glorious deeds, would be required to maintain his place at the head of his party. To the republic itself this important aggrandization must at the first glance have appeared highly desirable—perhaps even necessary. With its previous political state it could not be satisfied. A new maritime power, not having trade but conquest for its object, had established itself in the Mediterranean, and displaced theirs. Their dominion over the islands was overthrown; Sicily and Sardinia, their best provinces, were lost. Where could they hope to find a better compensation for all these than in Spain, a country in which they had already formed many connections by their trade and their levies? If it be moreover true,—and as we have the express testimony of several writers, it scarcely admits of a doubt,—that

nomads in Africa, before answering for his former conduct. In this war, by his good fortune, by booty, and gifts, he so won over the army, that he led it across Gades into Spain, without leave of the Carthaginians, whence he sent great treasures to Carthage, in order to gain the people. Thus he drew the Carthaginians on by his conquests and glory to desire the possession of all Spain."

Hamilcar already believed he here saw the means of triumphantly renewing the struggle with Rome, then we see how his private interest coincided with that of the republic.

Notwithstanding all this, it is evident that the prosecution of this project shook the entire fabric of the republic to its foundation. Spain was the richest country of the then known world. How great must the power of that house have become which made this ancient Peru in a manner its province? What interest might it not obtain whenever it chose to cause its treasures to flow to Carthage? Could there be much difficulty for it even to mount above the rabble and form itself a party in the senate itself, and in this manner to rule the republic, while it undermined the constitution without formally overthrowing it? And what would have been able to hinder these generals from effectually overthrowing it, as soon as they had formed for themselves there,—as Cæsar did in Gaul,—an army entirely dependent upon them.

That these apprehensions are not entirely groundless, history proves by the clearest evidence. As long as the Barcas ruled in Spain, so long did they rule the distant Carthage. During the nine years that Hamilcar had the command there, he found means, either by negotiations or force, to subjugate nearly the whole country. By its treasures he supported his influence; partly by enriching the state-treasury; but mostly by purchasing the affec-

tions of the army, and keeping alive the spirit of his faction[r]. While thus the silver of Spain continued to flow towards Carthage, nothing less could be expected, than that the possession of this country would be of the highest consequence in the eyes of the people. Hamilcar did not live to see the execution of his final project; but when he died, and his son-in-law Asdrubal succeeded him[s], the formidable power of the Barcine faction began to exhibit itself in an alarming manner. Asdrubal continued the faithful follower of his father-in-law's system in letting the wealth of Spain flow towards Carthage[t]; but his plans in Spain were much more extensive. He built a new capital, with regal splendour[u], which received the name of New Carthage; the richest silver mines were opened in its neighbourhood. He subdued the Spaniards rather by kindness than by force; he married the daughter of one of their kings. And being by all the Spaniards acknowledged as their general-in-chief, he endeavoured, according to the account of a contemporary writer[x], to lay the foundation of an in-

[r] APPIAN, i, p. 106.

[s] B. C. 228; ten years from the commencement of the second war with Rome.

[t] APPIAN, i, p. 109.

[u] DIODORUS, ii, p. 511; cf. POLYB. iii, p. 206. STRABO, p. 220. The present Carthagena.

[x] Namely, of Fabius, in POLYB. i, p. 403. Fabius, as Polybius states it, says Asdrubal went to Carthage after he had obtained the command in Spain, in order to effect a revolution which should place him at the head of the state. The leading men however saw his intention, and united

dependent dominion in Spain, having previously made an unsuccessful attempt to cause a revolution in Carthage itself. After having governed Spain for eight years, he fell under the stroke of an assassin; and Hannibal, whom he had himself formed, was named as his successor, first by the army and afterwards by the senate. The opposite faction in Carthage, however, having found means to gain over the people, were desirous of bringing those persons to an account whom the bribes of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had so much enriched[y]; upon which Hannibal, in order to maintain himself and his party, commenced with more haste the war against Rome, upon which he had already resolved.

It is only from a due consideration of all these circumstances that we can judge of the rise and progress of the Barcine faction, and of the changes which it produced. At its origin it espoused the cause of the people; but the wealth of Spain was sufficient to corrupt even many of the great, and with them a strong party in the senate, where, at the commencement of the second war with Rome, the Barcas

together to prevent it; whereupon he returned to Spain, and there, without troubling himself about the senate, made himself sole master. The account of Fabius is perhaps exaggerated, though there can be little doubt but it contains much that is true, notwithstanding the severe, but to me very unsatisfactory, criticism of Polybius, which in fact does not refer to this point but to another. We at least see by it what confidence was placed in Asdrubal.

[y] APPIAN, i, p. 109.

evidently had a decided preponderance. The more however the partizans of that house were enriched, the more easy it was for envy to stir up the people for a time against it, till the heroic valour of Hannibal again put them to silence.

This flexible disposition of the party, is precisely the most striking proof of the truth of the narrative; for it is one of the grossest mistakes into which history can fall, to consider political parties, especially in republics, as constant and unchanging bodies; though there is no more difficult task for the historian than to trace out their variations.

From all this the truth and meaning of Polybius's remark, that the Carthaginian government had degenerated before the commencement of the second war with Rome, by an increase of the power of the people, will be set in a just light[z]. The senate at that time appears indeed as the ruling body; but the senate itself was ruled by a faction, which relied upon its great favour with the people, though another party was always opposed to it, of which Hannibal the Great, till the end of the second war, seems to have been the leader.

But the views and transactions of these two parties require a farther development as often as we change the point of view in which we consider them, since no other motive was given

[z] Polyb. ii, p. 563, 564.

to the opponents of the Barcas, but mere envy at their greatness.

According to the statements of all writers, the renewing of the struggle with Rome was the sole act and favourite project of the Barcas; and was connected in the closest manner with their other enterprise—the conquest of Spain, which they prosecuted with so much good fortune. Hence it was that the expedition came to be undertaken from this country, whence they drew their chief supplies, and led by a general who had been trained to arms in this same country. Its great results are generally known. The glorious days of Thrasymene and Cannæ seem to have surpassed the boldest hopes that could have been formed at Carthage.

The natural fruits of these victories would have been a peace with Rome upon fair and moderate terms, which would have restored to the republic its lost possessions in Sicily and Sardinia. And in the eyes of such patriots of Carthage as did not desire a war of extermination, this wish appeared the more excusable, as the republic, with all its efforts, could expect to obtain no immediate advantage beyond it. Every victory, however, instead of leading to peace, seems to have driven it to a greater distance. The more the fame of the Barcas was exalted by the war, the less did they wish for its conclusion; and this is fully proved by the fact, that in the whole course of

the war, previous to Scipio's invasion of Africa, there is not a single word said about a treaty[a].

How far this line of policy might be true or false, whether it was possible for Carthage and Rome to exist together or not, it is now unnecessary to discuss. But to those who would not regard the aggrandizement of the Barcas as the object of the war, the reflection will spontaneously arise, that the opposite party, from the manner in which they viewed affairs, might also be right, and might not act altogether from dishonourable motives, although they desired peace[b].

That it is in this way that the contest between these two parties must be viewed, namely, one as clamorous for peace, the other desirous above all things to continue the war,

[a] POLYB. iii, p. 502.

[b] There will be found no closer resemblance to the struggle of these two parties in Carthage, than that of the whigs and tories during the war of the Spanish succession in England. Were not the latter justified in wishing for peace, although Marlborough, at the head of the whigs, was against it? This comparison might be carried still farther, and could not fail to be instructive if it were in place here. Perhaps there is not in history a finer parallel than might be drawn between Hannibal and Marlborough, if a Plutarch could be found to do it justice. Their both contending for ten years upon a foreign soil without being subdued would alone be sufficient to justify the comparison. But much more striking similarities are found in their general circumstances; in their bold enterprises, in the formation of their heterogeneous armies; in their murderous battles, planned for annihilation; in their comprehensive political activity; in their dominion over the men by whom they were surrounded; in their unfortunate fates; and, indeed, even in their perhaps unique weakness, for both were unable to withstand the influence of gold. The proper and authentic key to Hannibal's character is found in POLYBIUS, iii, p. 144, as the writer obtained it from the mouth of Massinissa, at one time the friend and fellow-warrior of the great Carthaginian.

is clear from what is said by Livy[c]. A detailed history of this party-contention cannot be given for want of information. Nevertheless we see that towards the end of the war, the party at that time for peace, and which indeed Hannibal joined on his return to Africa, gained the upperhand in the senate; while a democratic party made use of, on the contrary, all the influence it possessed, to frustrate the treaties already begun[d].

But whatever change might have taken place in the character of these parties within themselves, it is at least certain that the Barcine faction maintained a preponderance in the senate during the last years of the war; the usual opinion, therefore, that the opposition of Hanno crippled the progress of Hannibal, by his having sufficient influence to prevent his being supported in Italy, requires at least a good deal of confirmation to make it consistent.

Reinforcements and supplies directly from Africa did not at all enter into the immediate plan of the Carthaginian general. It was more particularly one of his great ideas, from the commencement of the war to the time he left Italy, that these should be supplied from another quarter, namely from Spain; and the whole history of the war is taken in a wrong point of view if this be not duly considered.

[c] See the discourse of Hanno, Liv. xxiii, 12.

[d] Appian, i, p. 345.

The reasons why he expected to draw what assistance he should require from thence, may be detailed in a few words. Spain was the principal seat of the power and the resources of his house[e]; but, above all, it was the field in which his troops were trained to arms. As the war with Rome had never relaxed here, armies were here formed that were already accustomed to stand before the legions; consequently they must have been infinitely superior to the raw, newly-raised levies from Africa.

Hence, therefore, the great design of the Carthaginian general (to effect which he unceasingly laboured from the commencement of the war), that his brother Asdrubal should reinforce him with a second army from Spain, whose place should be supplied by a body of troops from Africa, in order still to maintain a preponderance there against Rome[f].

[e] Some estimate may be formed of the immense income which the Barca family drew from Spain, from what Pliny relates of the produce of the mine Bebulus (so named from its discoverer), situate near New Carthage, and belonging to Hannibal. PLIN. xxxiii, 6. "Ex quibus Bebulo puteus appellatur hodieque, qui ccc pondo Hannibali subministravit in dies." That is, three hundred Roman pounds of silver, making about one hundred thousand pounds a year.

[f] Pro-rector BECKER, of Razeburg, to whom we are indebted for a learned treatise, introductory to a history of the second Punic war, differs from me in this and some other points. I confess that his arguments do not convince me. I think it, however, best to leave the matter to the reader's judgment, as the question here is not of the events themselves, but of the opinion formed respecting them; and here, perhaps, difference of opinion may be the most instructive. Concerning the main object in the eyes of the Carthaginians, the importance of the Spanish war (although perhaps originally begun without their consent), and the preservation of that

The truth of this remark appears evident, as well from the history of the war, as from the continual preponderance of the Barcas in the Carthaginian senate. The order to march towards Italy was sent to Asdrubal from Carthage, immediately after the account had been received of the great victory of Cannæ, and a new army to act in Spain was sent there under the command of Hamilco[g]. The Romans, however, were aware of this design, and it was therefore the task of the two Scipios in Spain to hinder its execution. They did this at first by the victory near the Ebro[h], whereupon Mago, the other brother of Hannibal, was sent into Spain by the Carthaginians even in the very same year, B. C. 215, with a strong reinforcement[i]. But the double victory of the Scipios near Illiturgi, purchased them a continuance of the superiority[k]. The Carthaginians, nevertheless, sent over a third army, under the command of Asdrubal the son of Gisco[l]; while, just about the same time, another must have been sent, together with a fleet, to the assistance of the besieged Syracuse[m]. The treble victory of Munda, however, B. C. 214, enabled

country, which I believe to have been first brought to light in this work, there is no difference of opinion between us.

[g] Liv. xxiii, 27, 28. In the year 216. They feared the execution of this plan from the first victory of Hannibal. Polyb. i, p. 608.

[h] Liv. xxiii, 29.

[i] Ibid. xxiii, 32.

[k] Ibid. xxiii, 49.

[l] Ibid. xxiv, 41.

[m] Ibid. xxiv, 35.

Scipio to maintain his ground[n]. After these bold and active operations, the struggle rather slumbered here for two years[o], when the Romans fell into the trap the Carthaginians had set for them, and the two Scipios were slain[p] (212). The victory gained by Marcius over the Carthaginians, and the still more important entrance of the younger Scipio into Spain in the next year, still delayed the execution of the plan; but as the Carthaginians founded their only hopes of success upon its completion, they prosecuted it with the more zeal for these hindrances[q], and made the greatest preparations to reinforce the army of Spain. The victory of Scipio, and all his efforts, could not prevent its accomplishment[r]; Asdrubal crossed the

[n] Liv. xxiv, 42. [o] Ibid. xxv, 32.
[p] Ibid. xxv, 35, 36. [q] Ibid. xxvii, 5.

[r] An obscurity hovers over this point of history, both in Polybius and Livy, which cannot but surprise every attentive reader. It must be allowed that Scipio committed one of the greatest military faults in permitting this expedition of Asdrubal if it were in his power to prevent it. Although he gained, according to Polybius, iii, p. 280, a victory over Asdrubal, he did not consider it prudent to follow him to the Pyrenees, whither he had fled with the remains of his army, and Asdrubal appears a few months later, and after a rapid harassing march, with fifty-six thousand men in Italy. Is not this enough to awaken some suspicion respecting this victory? Is this suspicion set at rest by the writer's having a cause for touching upon this subject as lightly as possible, which he knew would not be agreeable to the family of Scipio? He certainly states, as a reason for Scipio's not following him, that he feared the two other Carthaginian generals; but does this free him from the reproach of having suffered himself to be outreached by Asdrubal? But even in the account of Livy, the fact bears a somewhat different appearance. He mentions, it is true, the victory of Scipio near Bæcula (xxvii, 18, 19); but he states at the same time, that Asdrubal had made preparations before the battle to march towards the Pyrenees; and that Scipio, although he was advised to follow

Pyrenees and Alps with a numerous army; and had he not lost his life in Umbria, the fame of the deified Scipio might have been placed in a critical situation.

Probably, from the course of this war, we may in some degree account for that decline of the maritime forces of the republic during it, which even ancient writers have considered as one of the main causes of its fall[9], and which nowhere appears more evident than in Scipio's crossing over to Africa without a fleet being sent out to oppose him. In the prosecution of their design the Barcas had but little occasion for a navy, it had held therefore only a secondary place; and the powerful exertions which the land service cost, perhaps rendered it impossible to maintain the other upon an equal footing.

him, thought it sufficient to occupy the mountain passes with a body of troops (xxvii, 20). Appian, however (i, p. 135), places these events in a much clearer light. According to his account, Scipio, before the said battle, was in a very perilous situation. The battle, the issue of which long remained doubtful, but finally decided for Scipio, helped him out of this; (Polybius, therefore, certainly might, without being false to history, ascribe the victory to Scipio). But Asdrubal had, before this, caused numerous levies to be raised on the northern coasts; and, deceiving Scipio, he suddenly turned thitherward, and, with the troops there assembled, crossed the Pyrenees. To none of the generals of that period has less justice been done than to Asdrubal. A fair character of him may be found in DIODORUS, ii, p. 569; where he is said to be, without dispute, the first general, after his brother Hannibal. He is ranked, moreover, next to him as well as Mago, Hannibal's younger brother by POLYBIUS, iii, p. 138. History rarely exhibits a similar race of heroes! They are mighty men. They rank too high to be obscured by centuries.

[9] APPIAN, i, p. 310.

However this may have been, what we have above said will sufficiently answer the question how this party spirit first arose. And it is, properly, upon *this* question that the fall of every republic usually depends. A nation united in itself is unconquerable; but the most mighty people become an easy prey to their enemies when the spirit of faction prevails over patriotism.

How violent this spirit must have been during the second struggle with Rome, is plainly shown by the deep degeneration of the government at its close. The relation of Livy, partial as it is to his own country, leaves no doubt on this head[t]. According to him, a powerful body of the republic, which he calls the order of judges, had usurped a tyrannical authority, and exercised a despotic power over the goods and persons of the citizens[u].

[t] Liv. xxxiii, 46.

[u] *Ordo judicum.* In explaining this passage of Livy, much, in consequence of his making use of Roman appellations, must be left to conjecture. I therefore beg that my view of it may be taken in this light. Two things are certain. First: the *ordo judicum* was a high state and police tribunal; secondly: Hannibal was at the head of it (prætor *eorum*, scil. judicum factus). I take it therefore to be the *centumvirate*, or *gerusia* (see above, p. 122), which arose out of the anarchy, and usurped a tyrannical power. In the *gerusia* the suffetes enjoyed the presidency. The expression *prætor*, therefore, stands here either for suffes, or we must suppose it to mean an extraordinary magistrate, a sort of dictator, yet not of the warrior kind, which, under the extraordinary circumstances of the period, would not be surprising. At all events, Hannibal stood as chief magistrate at the head of the republic. As such he cited the *quæstor* before him, who could be no other than the first minister of finance. He did not, however, obey him, as he was certain, after his quæstorship, to be brought into the *ordo judicum*, the *centumvirate*. According to Aristotle

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Its members held their places for life, and as they appointed the ministers of the treasury, they had that in their interest. From what we know of the Carthaginian constitution, this order of judges was most probably the council of the hundred, which in this stormy period found the best opportunity of founding a reign of terrors,—the fruit usually brought forth by the riot of faction. When Hannibal became head of the commonwealth, he annihilated these abuses by a twofold reform: as he made the offices of the centumvirate annual instead of for life, and regulated the management of the treasury. But even these reforms nourished the spirit of faction, as Hannibal thereby made all those his enemies who had fed upon the

(see above, p. 127), when they left the *pentarchies* they became members of the centumvirate. It seems, therefore, highly probable, that the quæstor was chief of the pentarchy which directed the affairs of the treasury. This agrees with what we learn from Aristotle (see above, p. 127), that when persons left the pentarchies they entered into the gerusia. Hannibal's reform consisted of two objects. First, in making the duration of the office of the members of the centumvirate yearly instead of for life, which broke the oligarchic power of this assembly; and secondly, by reforming the abuses of the treasury; partly by rigidly enforcing the payment of the arrears, and partly by restoring to the state that which belonged to it. This interpretation seems to me to agree best, not only with the words of Livy, but also with all we know of the Carthaginian government in the better days of the republic. The identity of the gerusia and centumvirate as a high state tribunal, is also, according to my judgment, confirmed by a passage in Livy, xxxiv, 61. "When, says he, the suffetes were seated, in order to administer justice (*ad jus dicendum*), the note of Aristo (the private agent, who had fled, of Hannibal), was found posted up in their seats, stating that his commission was not to private persons, but *ad seniores (ita senatum vocant)*," therefore to the gerusia, of which the suffetes, in order to administer justice, were the presidents. For where, except in that assembly, could the note mentioned be more properly fixed up?

public; and the stipulations of the last peace with Rome were not suffered to die away.

In the decline of free states every misfortune becomes doubled, as it scarcely ever fails to reanimate the fury of parties. Mortified pride seeks for revenge; and the guilt of unsuccessful war, and humiliating peace, is hurled from one party to the other. Their mutual hate is thus not only increased, but becomes greater than their hate to the most haughty foe; and thus becomes explained the melancholy though in history ever-varying phenomenon, that it becomes easy for the enemies of such a state to form themselves a party, by which they gain intelligence of all its designs.

This melancholy phenomenon showed itself at Carthage, in its fullest extent, after the second peace with Rome. A Roman party, first formed by the opponents of Hannibal, performed the office of continual spies for that republic[x]. The expulsion of that great man, who in the afflictions of his country showed himself above all party spirit, was their work, and is the best proof of their strength and their blindness. Who could supply his place?

But the last peace with Rome contained, by the relation in which it placed Masinissa with Carthage, a condition which seems not less to have contributed to the internal disorder. In him the republic clearly saw a neighbour

[x] Liv. xxxiii, 47.

and overseer, who by the help of the Romans, sought to aggrandize himself at its expense; and who at last snatched away the best portion of its territory, the rich district of Emporia[y]. He also found means to buy himself a party in Carthage, which at last became so daring that they were driven from the city[z], and thereby gave occasion to that unfortunate war which consummated the fall of Carthage.

There certainly stood opposed to these factions, as might be expected, a party of patriots[a], who by bringing to remembrance the happy days of the time gone by, strove to recall them. It seems never however to have found a leader worthy of that rank[b]; and plain traces show, than in its opposition to inconsiderable matters it became irritated, and instead of helping the good cause rather increased its difficulties[c].

This violence of factions, the accurate detail of which must be left to a proper history of Carthage, continued with little interruption from Hannibal's exile to the overthrow of the republic. The life of Masinissa seemed as if it

[y] Polyb. iv, p. 547.

[z] Appian. i, p. 394. No other writer has so accurately described the outrages which Carthage had to endure from Masinissa.

[a] These three factions are distinguished and described by Appian, i, p. 390. The immense population of the city, which, even in its latest periods, is estimated at seven hundred thousand, must have made the contention of these factions dreadful.

[b] Compare Polybius's portraiture of the last Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, iv, p. 701.

[c] Compare what Livy says of Gisco the son of Hamilcar. *Epitom.* l. xlviii.

would never close; and his pretensions increased with his years. In the Roman senate a party was formed, principally by the offended purity and hateful passions of the elder Cato, whose watchword was the annihilation of Carthage to which the renewal of hostilities soon led.

The last struggle of the unfortunate republic requires no commentary. It was the struggle of a giant in despair, who, certain of destruction, would not fall ingloriously. How many and what causes had long been working together to render this fall at last unavoidable, it has been the object of the foregoing work to develop; and the close of this great tragedy confirms the observation, that Rome trusted to itself and its sword—Carthage to its gold and its mercenaries. The greatness of Rome was founded upon a rock; that of Carthage upon sand and gold-dust.



ETHIOPIANS.



ETHIOPIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Survey of the Ethiopian Nations.

ETHIOPIA, THE MOST DISTANT REGION OF THE EARTH, WHOSE INHABITANTS ARE THE TALLEST, MOST BEAUTIFUL, AND LONG-LIVED OF THE HUMAN RACE.

HERODOTUS, III, 114.

UNTIL we can obtain fuller and better information respecting the nations of inner Africa, there must necessarily remain several wide gaps in the history of our race, whose number and greatness it will perhaps be impossible to estimate correctly until these shall have been filled up. This observation may be applied indifferently to the moral and physical state of man. Africa, from its situation, naturally contains the greatest variety of the human race, in a physical point of view; and it may be fair to conjecture, from that very circumstance, that the moral differences are equally numerous.

He who wishes to examine the influences of climate on nature, and particularly on the outward figure and colour of man, will find Africa the only quarter of the world which offers him an unbroken chain from almost the highest to the lowest grade of civilization. Neither Europe nor Asia contain continents

which reach to the equator; in America various causes concur to weaken the influence of climate*; besides which European policy has taken so much pains since its discovery, to exterminate and corrupt the aboriginal tribes, particularly the better and more cultivated, that the philosopher is deprived of the materials most worthy of, and which would best repay, his attention. Australasia, and the newly-discovered islands of the South-sea, are only so many links of a chain everywhere torn asunder. Africa, on the contrary, forms of itself one immense whole; one continent, which arising under the temperate zone, stretches, without losing much of its width, across the line, and finally tapers off almost to a point, in the temperate zone of the southern hemisphere. This vast tract is everywhere sown with nations, which, like the various kinds of corn before the introduction of husbandry, have sprung up in various shapes, under the fostering hand of nature alone, and ripened towards civilization.

The inhabitants of the northern coast differ but little in colour and form from the Europeans; but the difference gradually becomes more striking; as we approach the equator, the colour darkens, the hair becomes more woolly, the profile undergoes a remarkable change, and man at last becomes altogether a Negro. Beyond the equator, the figure and swarthy colour of this unhappy race are again lost in

* ZIMMERMANN, *Geographical History of Mankind*, i, p. 78.

successive gradations. The Caffres and Hottentots seem to have, from what we know of them, much of the negro nature, without however being completely Negroes[b].

All the innumerable varieties of form therefore found in the human species, and every shade of colour from the white to the negro, are exhibited before us on the vast scene of Africa, and certainly there only in an uninterrupted series. How different then will this important branch of natural history appear, when the labours of capable travellers shall have given us, by their drawings, descriptions, and researches, such an accurate and scientific detail of these variations, as shall enable us to form a true idea of these successive and gradual changes, of which, up to the present time, taking into our account even the latest discoveries, we know scarcely any thing more, than that they justify us in drawing the above general inferences.

The additions likely to be made from these sources to our knowledge of the great families of mankind, both in a moral and psychological point of view, are perhaps yet more considerable. But we still require better information of what man *is*, and may become, in those regions. For which shall we take as our standard? Not I hope those unfortunate beings who, torn from their country, their friends, and from all those associations which affect the heart of

[b] BLUMENBACK's *Natural History*, i, p. 56.

a Negro, groan beyond the ocean under the tyranny of the European, whose lash would soon suppress every development of mind, which, in spite of his cruelty, might show itself.—Or shall we take it from the report of travellers? Our circle of information has certainly been enlarged by them during the last ten years, and adventurers have pressed forward from the north, from the west, and from the south, yet the most persevering of them have been unable to reach Tombuctoo, or any other large inland town where the civilization of these nations has reached a higher point; or if they have reached it, we still lack any thing like accurate information respecting it[c]. What however we have learned from Leo Africanus, and from Mungo Park and his successors, justly excites our admiration, though it is far from satisfying our curiosity. What a picture of rising

[c] The latest known travellers, Denham and Clapperton, starting from the north coast, have penetrated as far as 10° N. lat.; from the Cape on the south the missionaries have pushed into the neighbourhood of the southern tropics, into the country of the Bitschuances; where the advance of a mighty nomad people, the Mantatis, from the heart of Africa in the year 1823, will probably prevent the farther progress of discovery for a long period. The particulars of this may be seen in the *South African Journal*, No. I, for January 1824, published at the Cape. The war with the Ashantees has also interrupted the progress from the west. No European has yet seen the sources of the Joliba.

[Since the publication of the original German of this work, our unfortunate countryman, major Laing, and the French adventurer, Caillié, have penetrated to Tombuctoo; but the cruel murder and robbery of the former, and the limited talents of the latter, render the additions made to our stock of information much less interesting than might have been expected. They, with the recentdiscovery of the flux of the Joliba into the sea, are noticed in Appendix, ix. *Translator.*]

cultivation did Park catch a glance of in the neighbourhood of Seego, on the banks of the Joliba! The great question respecting the rise and first formation of states, which hitherto has been little more than an object of speculation, seems here likely to become historically answered. Religion, legislation, national law, all appear here in their infancy, but still in a great variety of changing shapes, and show in as many ways their influence upon these still uncultivated people[d]. The great machinery, such as general emigrations, vast conquests, either by rude or civilized nations, suddenly-arising and far-spreading systems of religion, which have at one time accelerated, and at others abruptly retarded the progress of civilization in other quarters of the globe, seem to have had much less effect in the interior of Africa. The propagation of the Mahometan religion, which has penetrated as far as the countries on the Niger, is perhaps the only external shock that these nations have received, and this, though it certainly has had some effect, has produced no rapid or remarkable consequences. All here is left to itself, and moves along in the slow, but certain course of nature.

Except the Egyptians, there is no aboriginal people of Africa with so many claims upon our

[d] Those, for example, who would learn the origin of republics, or would wish to see the growth of *mysteries* and *secret tribunals*, may consult GOLBERRY's account of the institution of the Purrah among the Foulahs. [The author here alludes to the *Fehmgerichte*, an institution peculiar to Westphalia, and made use of by sir Walter Scott in Anne of Gierstein.]

attention as the Ethiopians; from the remotest times to the present, one of the most celebrated and yet most mysterious of nations. In the earliest traditions of nearly all the more civilized nations of antiquity, the name of this distant people is found. The annals of the Egyptian priests were full of them; the nations of inner Asia, on the Euphrates and Tigris, have interwoven the fictions of the Ethiopian with their own traditions of the conquests and wars of their heroes; and, at a period equally remote, they glimmer in Greek mythology. When the Greeks scarcely knew Italy and Sicily by name, the Ethiopians were celebrated in the verses of their poets: "they are the remotest nation, the most just of men; the favourites of the gods. The lofty inhabitants of Olympus journey to them, and take part in their feasts; their sacrifices are the most agreeable of all that mortals can offer them[a]." And when the faint gleam of tradition and fable gives way to the clear light of history, the lustre of the Ethiopians is not diminished. They still continue the object of curiosity and admiration; and the pen of cautious, clear-sighted historians, often places them in the highest rank of knowledge and civilization.

To what shall we attribute this early renown of one of the most distant nations of the earth? How did the fame of its name penetrate the

[a] See all the passages where Homer speaks of the Ethiopians, for example, *Odyss.* i, v. 23, etc.

terrible desert which surrounds it, and, even still, forms an almost insuperable bar to all who would approach it? To suppose all the above particulars the mere offspring of the poet's imagination, will scarcely be allowed by any at all acquainted with the nature of early traditions. But if they were more than this, if the reports respecting this people were founded in truth, then the above questions become of the greatest importance to ancient history, and have the stronger claim to our attention; as no one yet, within the circle of my knowledge, has at all satisfactorily answered them.

A great many nations, different and distant from one another, are comprised under the name of Ethiopian. It would at once distract the mind to consider them as one nation, or even as one race. The study of the natural history of man was but little cultivated in antiquity; nations were distinguished according to the most remarkable difference in their appearance, namely, their colour; and thus all those who were strikingly distinguished from Europeans by a very dark, or completely black skin, received the general appellation of Ethiopians.

After these remarks it will not seem strange that we find Ethiopian nations scattered over a great part of the ancient world. Africa certainly contained the greatest number of them, yet they were not the only inhabitants of this part of the world, nor were they confined to it

alone. A considerable tract of Asia was occupied by an Ethiopian race; and as India was often made to comprise southern Africa, so, in like manner, Ethiopia is frequently made to include southern India. It is of great importance to the general scope of this inquiry, that we should show somewhat more accurately, the extent and variety of the seats of these nations. It is, in the meantime, scarcely necessary to notice, that, of the ancient writers, only the more eminent historians and geographers can find a place here; as what we attempt will be rather a general geographical outline, than a detail of particulars.

They agree, for the most part, in dividing the native tribes of Africa into two distinct classes, the Libyans and the Ethiopians. "Thus much I know," says Herodotus[f], "four nations occupy Africa, and no more; two of these nations are aboriginal, and two not. The Libyans and Ethiopians are aboriginal; the former lying northward, and the latter southward, in Libya; the foreign settlers are Phœnicians and Greeks." This division will be found exactly followed by succeeding writers; although they are not very accurate in the use of names. And, notwithstanding we should grant that no essential distinction of races is here pointed at, yet it is at least evident, that the inhabitants of the north and the southern

[f] Herod. iv. 197.

parts of northern Africa, are so distinguished from one another, and particularly by the colour of their skin, that they considered them as entirely different races.

The father of history, therefore, as well as the other Greek writers, comprised under the name of Libyans[g], all the nations which they knew in northern Africa without the territory of the Carthaginians and Greeks, as well as the separate tribes, which, as far as the Lesser Syrtis, Herodotus has so carefully enumerated[h]; and the nomad tribes of western north Africa, which later writers have rescued from obscurity, equally belong to them[i]. The first important question, therefore, that presents itself, is, who were these nations, and are any of their descendants now to be found?

Since the migratory invasions of the Arabs, north Africa has been so much changed, with regard to its inhabitants, that this question cannot be answered without great difficulty. These conquerors have, by partly living in towns, and by the pastoral life of the far greater number, spread themselves over every part of northern Africa, where they are now comprised under the name of Moors[k]. Their tribes wander

[g] The Egyptians, of course, are not included in this remark, as their country was not usually considered as forming part of Libya. This also applies to the Arab tribes, who, as will hereafter be shown, migrated to the east coast of Africa and Ethiopia at a very early period.

[h] See above, p. 33, 38.

[i] See above, p. 254.

[k] This name is often improperly applied to all the inhabitants of northern Africa, to distinguish them from the Negroes; but it can only cor-

over the vast tracts between the Mediterranean sea and the Senegal and Joliba; and are notorious as a nation for their savage barbarity and religious fanaticism. It has, however, for a long time been ascertained that they certainly are not the only inhabitants of these extensive regions. Even early travellers[l] distinguish from them a race known by the name of Berbers, who dwell in the southern provinces of Barbary and Morocco, and especially in the Atlas mountains, whither they have been pressed back by the progress of the conquering Arabs, as they had previously been by the Vandals[m]. But the recent discoveries in Africa have thrown a new light upon this circumstance, or at least changed the thick darkness in which it was enveloped into a glimmering twilight. Without then attempting to prove their common descent, or relationship, I shall comprise under the name of Berbers all the aboriginal tribes of northern Africa beyond Egypt, from the Atlantic sea to the Arabian gulf, in opposition to the Moors and Negroes. This survey will be

rectly be used to distinguish the Arab tribes in Africa, from the north coast to Sahara, who are likewise known by their language.

[l] See the narratives of HOEST, SHAW, etc.

[m] We learn from PROCOPIUS, *De Bello Vandalico*, that they attempted, in the time of the Vandals, to regain possession of their lost territories. To seek for a Carthaginian or Vandal race now, however, in the interior of Africa, would be as fruitless an undertaking as it would be rash to deny that Phœnician or German blood has not mixed with the native tribes, which perhaps has even had some influence upon their colour. The account we shall presently give of the Tuaricks may probably confirm this conjecture.

facilitated by our separating the western half from the eastern.

The narratives of Hornemann[n] and Lyon have now made us acquainted with two nations in the western countries altogether different from the Arabs and Negroes: we mean the Tibboos and Tuaricks, both of whom, from their widely extended places of abode, and especially the latter, demand our consideration. They dwell, says Hornemann, to the south and west of Fezzan; their territory being bounded on the south-east by Bornou, on the south by the Negro countries, and on the west by Fez and Morocco. Settlements of them, however, are to be met with in Fezzan itself, in Augila and Siwah, in which places the language of the Tuaricks is the proper language of the inhabitants. They are, indeed, divided into many tribes, but all speak the same language, which is entirely different from the Arabic. The proofs of this which have been sent to England have led to a very important consequence, as it has been found by comparison to be exactly the same as that spoken by the above-mentioned Berbers in the Atlas mountains[o]; so that no doubt can remain but that these and the Tuaricks are one and the same people. With regard to their colour, though it certainly is not exactly the same in some of the tribes, yet the difference seems in

[n] HORNEMANN, p. 129—132.

[o] See the comparison made by Marsden. HORNEMANN, p. 235.

a great measure to depend upon their place of abode and their manner of living; and, properly speaking, they are but mere variations of the tint, which, owing to these causes, is sometimes lighter, and sometimes darker. The western branch of this race are white, so far as the climate and their habits will allow it. Others are of a yellow cast, like the Arabs; others again swarthy; and in the neighbourhood of Soudan there is said to be a tribe completely black. Their lineaments, nevertheless, have nothing in them of the negro kind. The Mahometan religion has been introduced among them, but has not been very generally adopted: paganism mostly prevails. They usually lead a nomad life, though some have fixed abodes; they are slimly made, and rather above than under the common height. Their moral character is favourably spoken of, and they would probably become, if their natural talents were better cultivated and enlightened, one of the first nations of the world. Commerce is their principal occupation; their caravans ply between the Negro countries and Fezzan; and the principal city of the latter country, otherwise desolate and lonely, becomes enlivened at their arrival.

These particulars are confirmed and extended by captain Lyon, who observed the Tuaricks[p]

[p] *Narrative*, p. 108—112. Compare his plates, ten and eleven, where they are represented in their costume and finery. The custom of covering

at Fezzan. He says they are the finest race of men he ever saw; tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing. They are generally white; the dark brown of their complexions only being occasioned by the heat of the climate. Their arms and bodies are as fair as many Europeans. They certainly are whites though somewhat tanned. Their costume is composed of cotton; and they are very partial to blue and striking colours, especially the merchants, who generally dress very gaudily while in the towns. They all wear a whip, hanging from a belt passed over the left shoulder. Their weapons are a long sword and a dagger, without which no Tuarick is ever seen, and a long elegant spear, highly ornamented, and sometimes made entirely of iron. Their language is the Breber, or original African tongue, still spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, in some parts of Morocco, and at Sockna, where it is called Ertāna. They are very proud of its antiquity. They are Moslems; but their knowledge of religion very often consists in a mere form of prayer. They inhabit that immense tract found in our maps under the name of Sahara, or the great desert, and are of numerous tribes, some of whom wander like the Arabs, and subsist by plunder.

the lower part of the countenance, from the nose downwards, serves as a protection from the sand and the hot wind.

They travel on the maherri, or dromedary, with which they perform incredibly swift journeys. Many of their tribes are in perpetual war with the Soudan states, from whom they carry off an immense number of slaves, the principal article of their trade. The nearest place of the Tuaricks is ten days' journey to the south of Morzouk.

It is therefore evident that even still an extensive people, quite distinct from the Arabs and the Negroes, is scattered over the greater part of northern Africa, and that the chief part of the commerce of inner Africa is in their hands. History is silent respecting the migration of any such nation into Africa; and everything tends to prove them aboriginal. Their habits and their business bear a striking resemblance to that of the Libyans of old: and their seat would still have been the same, if powerful conquerors had not driven them from the sea coasts, and compelled them to purchase their liberty and independence by a retreat into the innermost parts of the desert. Can any one doubt after this that these Tuaricks are the descendants of the ancient Libyans? Perhaps it only requires a more accurate knowledge of them than it has yet been possible to obtain, to confirm many of the little traits which Herodotus relates concerning them, and, among others, the reason of his regarding them as more healthy than the the rest of world [q].

[q] Herod. iv. 187.

The Tibboos frequently mentioned, are, in every respect, a different people from the Tuaricks, in their appearance, their manner of living, and their language. Their colour is of the brightest black; but their profile has nothing of the negro character[r]: they have aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips formed like those of Europeans. In the matter of civilization they are below the Tuaricks, living partly in caves, and partly in villages upon barren rocks or hills, in order to escape being plundered by the Tuaricks and Fezzanese, who carry them off as slaves. They follow the slave trade, however, themselves, but do not trade to Soudan. The female sex are well made, and, like the Negroes, love dancing.—By thus comparing the Tuaricks and Tibboos I am almost led to conjecture that the population of the former has spread from north to south, and the latter from south to north. To draw an accurate line between the ancient Libyans and Ethiopians would be as difficult a task as it would be between the present Negro tribes and the Moors and Tuaricks. It is certainly very probable that the southern boundaries of the great desert may in general be taken as the limits of the Negro countries; yet it is equally certain, that separate black tribes, either completely Negro or not, have penetrated, both in ancient and modern times, a considerable

[r] LYON, *Narrative*, p. 225, etc.

way into the great desert. According to the statement upon Lyon's map, the black population begins under the 28°. N. Lat. The fact mentioned by Herodotus, of the Ethiopians being hunted by the Garamantes in four-horse chariots[s], and the separate tribes of them, dwelling along the Atlantic coast, almost as far as Cerne[t], prove it to have been the same in early times; and it has already been remarked, from the narratives of modern travellers, that in the Tibesti mountains, the very same territory where the Garamantes hunted the Ethiopians, black people were, or even still are to be found[u]. If the numerous interminglings of the various tribes, which here must necessarily have taken place, be taken into consideration, the impossibility of placing an accurate boundary line between the Libyans and Ethiopians will easily be perceived.

I shall now turn from the western nations of north Africa, to the eastern; to the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile above Egypt, and the adjacent countries, as far as the Arabian gulf; in order to throw some light upon what the ancients have said concerning them. As their country in general is comprised under the name of Ethiopia, the name has been transferred to its inhabitants; and they are called Ethiopians because their colour happens to be dark, without respect to their

[s] Herod. iv, 183. [t] Scylax, p. 54.
[u] Hornemann, p. 126, and Lyon, l. c.

descent. But all writers have not expressed themselves with equal accuracy.

Herodotus is the first who fairly claims our attention. His accounts here, as well as everywhere else, show the deep inquirer and the keen observer. He distinguishes the Ethiopians according to the growth of their hair, and particularly the proper Negroes[x] from the other swarthy tribes. "The eastern Ethiopians in Asia," he says, "have straight hair; while the African Ethiopians have the most curly hair of all men[y]." The father of history, however, is mistaken in speaking thus of all the black tribes of Africa. All these are not Negroes; a considerable number is found there, who, like those of Asia, have straight hair, notwithstanding the black hue of their skins. We have already had some proofs of this assertion, and shall see more as we proceed; but Herodotus decided according to what he saw of them in Upper Egypt, the most southern point of his travels.

Herodotus has not distinguished the separate tribes of these nations, according to their geographical situation, with so much accuracy as later geographers; he describes them in a general way as the inhabitants of southern Africa. He only distinguishes the Macrobians, and the inhabitants of Meroë, to whom we shall by and

[x] By *proper* Negroes I understand the black people with woolly hair, and the well-known Negro profile.

[y] Herod. vii, 70.

by return We are left without more minute information till we come to the writers who flourished during the period of the Ptolemeys, when we have some fragments of Eratosthenes and Agatharchides, which Diodorus, Strabo, and others have preserved to us.

We are indebted, however, to Herodotus for one important piece of information, which, notwithstanding the many changes that have taken place, suits as well in the present day as in his time.

The eastern districts of north Africa, above Egypt, from the Nile to the Arabian gulf, which we now comprise under the names of Nubia and Sennaar, were even then occupied by two different races; one aboriginal, which he includes under the general appellation of Ethiopians, and the other an immigratory Arabian race, leading for the most part a wandering roving life. That such was the case in the Persian period, and certainly as far back as the Pharaohs, is evident from what we are told of the army of Xerxes, whom they must have attended in his expedition into Greece. Here we find the Ethiopians and Arabians above Egypt associated under the same commander[z]. But to what extent this spreading of the Arabians went on in later times we learn from a passage which Pliny has preserved us, of the Description of Africa by Juba the

[z] Herod. vii, 69.

Numidian king, and contemporary of Augustus. According to his account, the banks of the Nile, from Philæ to Meroë, were occupied by Arab tribes, different from the Ethiopians[a]. We shall soon see how exactly this statement tallies with that of the latest travellers.

It would however be equally difficult to draw a precise line between the Arabian and aboriginal nations here, as it would be between the Negroes and Berbers in western Africa. The Arabian tribes have not only dwelt in the country above two thousand years, and therefore long before the introduction of Mahometanism (although Islamism, if made by force, might probably have given them the preponderancy)[b], but many of them have intermingled with the older stock[c]. The latter likewise lay claim to an Arabian descent (especially when they would show that they are different from the Negroes[d]), although we have well-grounded reasons for believing the contrary. The *language* however on this point seems quite decisive; though caution must still be used even in this respect; for, as Arabian descent is considered the more honourable, there are tribes who lay claim to it, and yet speak a completely different language; travellers, therefore, may easily be deceived, when they hear individuals

[a] PLINY, vi, 34.
[b] QUATREMERE, *Memoires sur Egypte*, ii, p. 146.
[c] Ibid. p. 144.
[d] BURKHARDT'S *Travels in Nubia*, p. 216.

of such tribes speaking Arabic, and from that judge respecting the whole tribe. But, after all, the character of the language still remains in my opinion the most certain test. It does not appear likely that Arabians, who pride themselves upon their language[e], should have relinquished it in order to adopt that of a barbarous or conquered people; unless they had become lost among them from being so few in number. I therefore consider myself justified in ranking all those nations as aboriginal who do not speak Arabic, whether they in their traditions give themselves an Arabian descent or not; and I shall venture to include them all under the general appellation of Berbers *(Barabras)*, the rather because this name in the same sense is still given them in Egypt[f].

Among these nations we must first mention the Nubians. This name does not occur till the period of the Ptolemeys, and is I believe first mentioned by Eratosthenes[g]; but it soon came into use, sometimes as the general name for all the tribes dwelling on both sides of the Nile[h], from Egypt to Sennaar and the ancient Meroë, and sometimes, in a more limited sense, for the present Dongola. Their chief mark of distinction is that their dwellings are in the

[e] Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Countries beyond the Cataracts*, p. 55.

[f] Legh, p. 56.

[g] Strabo, p. 1135.

[h] The tribes on the west bank of the Nile are expressly reckoned among them by Strabo, l. c. and distinguished from the Ethiopians.

valley of the Nile. Within these last few years we have obtained from the graphic pencil of Burkhardt, a description of this nation, the first accurate accounts we have had, but which have already been confirmed, honourably for him, by his successors[i].

They live in a land of monuments, perhaps erected by their forefathers; and on that account have the greater claim to our attention. Their language, of which Burkhardt has given us specimens[k], is entirely different from the Arabian; and neither that nor their exterior appearance will allow us to give them an Arabian origin. They are of a dark brown colour, with hair either naturally curly, or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly. It often forms an elevated ornament, like those on the monuments. Their visage has nothing at all of the Negro physiognomy. The men are well formed, strong, and muscular, with fine countenances. They are something shorter than the Egyptians. They have only a little beard growing under the chin, as upon the Egyptian statues. They are very thinly clad, almost naked; but are all armed with a spear, five feet long, a dagger, and a large shield, formed of the skin of the hippopotamus. The women are well made, with pleasing features. The men buy them of their parents;

[i] Especially by the Travels of WADDINGTON and HANBURY.

[k] BURKHARDT, p. 153, and indeed of the two dialects into which it is divided.

but frequently also intermarry with the Arabs[l]. The Nubian, says another eye-witness, is thin and slender, but beautifully formed; and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statue. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian. When he demands a present he poises his spear upon his breast. All go armed with spear, sword, and shield. Forty of them sitting in a circle had each their spear stuck in the ground near them[m]. According to the express testimony of the latest travellers, the Nubian language is spoken at Dongola, where the Arabian is spoken but badly[n]. To the south of Dongola is the country of the Scheygias, a very remarkable race. They are of a very dark brown, or rather black colour, but by no means Negroes[o]. Till lately they were completely independent, and defended their liberty against the army of the pasha of Egypt with an heroic courage worthy a better fate, for they were almost extirpated. They speak Arabic, but whether they are of Arabian or mixed origin I cannot venture to determine. They are divided, almost in the manner of castes, into three classes: the learned, who have books and schools, the warrior, and the merchant class. The warriors are horsemen; each is

[l] Burkhardt, p. 144.

[m] Hennicke's Notes during a visit to Egypt and Nubia, p. 164.

[n] Waddington and Hanbury, p. 59, note.

[o] See Burkhardt, p. 68, etc. and Waddington and Hanbury, p. 77, etc.

armed with a double-pointed spear, a sword, and a large shield. In their country the pyramid monuments which adorned the ancient Meroë, are first met with; and even its name has been preserved in that of their chief place, *Merawe*, though the ancient capital of this name must be sought for farther south. Its territory borders on the country of the Berbers. The inhabitants, in the strictest sense Berbers, call themselves Arabians, that they may not be confounded with the Negroes; but from Burkhardt's description, I have no doubt of their belonging to the Nubian race, although the Arabic has been introduced among them. "The people of Berber," says Burkhardt[p], "are a very handsome race. The native colour seems to be a dark red-brown. Their features are not at all those of the Negro; the face being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian, the upper lip however is generally somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the Negro lip. They are tall and thin, even more so than the Egyptians, very healthy, sick persons being scarcely ever found among them."

Above these regions, beyond the Astaboras or Tacazze, especially in Shendy, and from thence to Sennaar, along the Nile, the Arabic entirely prevails; and the great mass of the inhabitants,

[p] Burkhardt, p. 216, 233.

though sometimes with a mixture of other blood, may be regarded as of Arabian descent. It is not difficult to account for this. These parts always have been, and still are, great places of trade; and the trade has always been principally in the hands of the Arabians. Can we therefore wonder that in their marts their language should prevail? It extends therefore above Sennaar as far as the confines of Abyssinia; where, as we learn from Bruce and others, the Abyssinian languages, the Amhara and other dialects, first begin to be spoken.

The Arabic, however, is much less general among the scattered races wandering between the valley of the Nile and the Arabian gulf. The ancient writers notice here the Blemmies, and *Megabari*, a savage warlike race, who lived in the forests or groves upon what they could procure by hunting; and those in the mountains and on the coast, who from their habitation and food bore the name of *Troglodytæ*, or cave-dwellers, and *Ichthyophagi*, or fish-eaters. Among the modern travellers we are particularly indebted to Bruce for some valuable information respecting them; he did not himself however visit their country. Burkhardt was the first who ventured upon this; and he passed right across it, as he journeyed from Shendy to Suakin on the Arabian gulf. We shall compare the account they give with that of the ancients, and particularly with that of

Agatharchides, of whose work upon the Red, that is, the Southern sea, unfortunately only a few fragments remain[q].

Agatharchides again divides the tribes in these parts according to their mode of life: there were some who knew a little of agriculture, as they sowed millet, or *dhourra;* the greater part however were herdsmen; and others savages, who subsisted by hunting. It is just the same in the present day. The principal race is that to which Bruce and Niebuhr have given the name of Bischaries; the same which more early writers call Bejas, or Bedjas; except that the latter name rather applied to the inhabitants of the plain. A learned Frenchman has already demonstrated in a very satisfactory manner, that this tribe is the same as the ancient Blemmies[r]. They live in the same territory; their habits are in no respect changed; they have nothing of the Arab about them, but are an aboriginal people; and they therefore belong to the class of nations which we comprise under the general name of Berbers.

The seat of the Bischaries begins in the north, where that of the Ababdés ends; and this latter extends from Cosseir in Egypt to

[q] AGATHARCHIDES *de Rubro Mari*, in *Geographis Min.* HUDSON, i, p. 37. DIODORUS, i, p. 191, has borrowed from him word for word.

[r] QUATREMERE, *Memoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii, p. 127, etc. The accounts given of the Blemmies by the ancients are here all brought together and compared with the Makrizie and other Arabic manuscripts.

somewhere about 23° N. lat. The Ababdés speak Arabic, and are a commercial people; the breeding of camels has at all times been their principal employment, and the caravan life their principal business[s]. From their language they are called Arabs, but some take them to be merely a branch of the Bischaries. The seat of the Bischaries, from where it joins the Ababdés southwards to the neighbourhood of Suakin, is principally a mountain ridge, which here rises and runs along the eastern coast of Africa. This mountain chain, from the earliest times downward, has been the abode of tribes who dwell in holes and caves formed by nature, and fashioned and improved by the inhabitants themselves, whence they have been comprised under the name of Troglodytes[t]. It is a difficult matter in a northern climate to form a just notion of the manners and habits of these nations. He who would wish to see a picture of it in Europe must visit the Catacombs of Naples[u], which from their appearance and history seem once to have been made use of for a similar purpose. In these majestic vaults, which resemble a row of Gothic churches, hewn out by the labour of Polyphemi, some conception may be formed of the mode of life of a people who found here, in the wet season, a

[s] Quatremere, p. 158, etc. Burkhardt, p. 149, 344, etc.

[t] Agatharchides, l. c. p. 45, and Diodorus, i, p. 197.

[u] Not those of Rome, which were evidently intended for another purpose.

secure shelter for themselves and their herds from the rain, and in summer a protection from the scorching rays of the sun [x].

The Troglodytes of Ethiopia, according to the accounts of Agatharchides, were herdsmen, with their separate chiefs, or princes of tribes. A community of women existed among them, probably the result of their manner of life, which would scarcely allow of domestic relations. In the wet season, when incessant rains deluged the country, they retired with their herds into the caves, and lived upon clotted milk and blood; but, immediately the weather became favourable, they hastened with their cattle into the valleys which afforded them pasturage, often a subject of contention among them.

"The Bischaries, who rarely descend from their mountains," says Burkhardt, "are a very savage people. Their only cattle are camels and sheep, and they live entirely upon flesh and milk, eating much of the former raw. According to the relation of several Nubians, they are very fond of the hot blood of slaughtered sheep; but their great luxury is said to be the raw marrow of camels. Their language is different from the Arabic, and approaches the

[x] There are so many traces of this in the south of Italy and Sicily, in the interior of which a whole city is found hewn out of the rocks (see BARTEL'S *Letters on Calabria and Sicily*, iii, p. 441), that this, coupled with the ancient traditions respecting the inhabitants of these countries, the Cyclops and Cimmerians, makes me feel no hesitation in expressing my opinion, that troglodytic pastoral tribes formerly inhabited these places.

Abyssinian. They are divided into four tribes, which are often at war with one another for the possession of the pasturages. Their colour is a dark brown. Their women are handsomely formed, with very fine eyes and teeth, and are of a frank disposition. They are a genuine aboriginal people of Africa." Burkhardt and Bruce have mentioned some of their tribes by name, the Shiho, and their neighbours the Hazorta, who, according to the latter, are said to be of a copper colour, still live in their caves, still clothe themselves in goat skins, and still rove with their herds from one part of the mountain to another[y]. Some of these tribes spread themselves over the plains of Atbara[z], between the lower Tacazze and the mountains; those nearest the river, where the soil is very fertile, sow a little dhourra, but without any artificial cultivation of their lands. They are likewise herdsmen, and possess a very fine breed of cattle[a]. The peculiarities of the climate compel these tribes to a yearly migration. The Astaboras, swelled out, overflows the neighbouring plains, and drives the inhabitants to seek fresh pasturage. According to the narrative of Bruce[b], another cause of

[y] Bruce, iii, p. 69, 72.

[z] Thus is named the district bordering on the lower Astaboras, or Atbara. According to Burkhardt, the place called Atbara is properly only an encampment. The name of Taka, in Bruce and Burkhardt, is evidently given to this province from the other name of the same river, Tacazze.

[a] Burkhardt, p. 334, etc.

[b] Bruce, iv, p. 443, etc.

their wanderings is that dreadful insect which he has described under the name of gadfly, and which abounds from the beginning of the rainy season on the rich lands adjoining the Astaboras, and kill the cattle if they are not immediately driven off to the higher, sandy regions, where they do not follow them. This circumstance was not unknown to Agatharchides, and his accounts agree very well with that of the British traveller. "An extensive country," says he[c], "borders on that of the water-locusts, with excellent pastures; it is nevertheless forsaken, and uninhabitable. It was formerly inhabited, but is now swarming with scorpions and gadflies, which are reported to have four teeth. The inhabitants, finding themselves without remedy, took to flight, and left the country waste." The Greeks were only ignorant that this plague came yearly, and began and ended with the wet season. "These gadflies," says Bruce, "are only found in those places where the soil is fat; as soon as the cattle hear their buzzing they run wildly about till they at last fall down exhausted. The herdsmen, in this case, have no other resource but to leave the rich soil and flee to the sandy regions of Atbara, and remain there during the

[c] AGATHARCHIDES, l. c. p. 43. To the same district must also be referred the account, p. 37, of the gnats, or gadflies, that expelled the lions from the banks of the Astaboras, these lords of the forest being unable to bear their noisy buzz. Bruce says that even elephants and rhinoceroses can scarcely protect themselves from the attacks of these insects.

rainy season, where the cruel enemy never ventures to follow them. A later traveller[d], though he did not visit this country himself, has raised some doubt respecting the statement of Bruce, because, upon questioning a native of it, he found him unacquainted with this insect. This, however, is by no means sufficient to establish a charge against Bruce of having himself invented this story; to do that it requires a proper scrutiny of the place and stations, which that traveller could not invent. As for the silence of Burkhardt it proves nothing against Bruce; it might have arisen from his mere forgetfulness to make inquiries respecting it.

The southern part of the territory of Taka, or Atbara, on the upper Tacazze, is the seat of the hunting tribes. The luxurious soil is here covered with thick forests, overrun with savage beasts, lions, as well as panthers, elephants, and rhinoceroses. Agatharchides has also given us a description of the tribes who inhabit this region. "On the banks of the Astaboras, which flows on one side of the island of Meroë, dwells," he tells us[e], "a people who live upon the roots of reeds, or canes, which grow in a neighbouring pool. After shreding it with stones, they reduce it to a glutinous pulp, and dry it in the sun in pieces about the breadth of

[d] Lord Valentia, *Travels*, ii, p. 394.

[e] Agatharchides, ed. Hudson, p. 37, and from him Diodorus, i, p. 191.

one's hand. Near to this is the tribe of the Hylophagæ whose nourishment is the fruit that drop from the trees, herbs that grow in the valleys, and even the soft ends of twigs. They consequently possess an extraordinary facility for climbing trees. To these follow, in a westerly direction, the hunting tribes, who live upon the wild beasts, which they kill with their arrows. There is also another race, whose food is the flesh of elephants and ostriches; besides these there is still another less numerous tribe, who feed upon the locusts which come in numerous swarms from the unknown regions to the south."

The seats of these tribes are too accurately laid down by Agatharchides for any mistake to occur respecting them. They dwell on the banks of the Astaboras, which river separates them from Meroë. We thus find ourselves in the country of the Shangallas. No modern traveller has yet visited the interior of this district. Bruce journeyed along its southern, and Burckhardt, in his route to Suakin through Taka, along its northern boundaries; its forests and wild beasts seem to render it inaccessible. "Every night," says Burkhardt, "I heard their howlings, during which no one dares stir out of the intrenchment[f]. The fiercest animals, however," he adds, "that inhabit these woods, are the Bedjawy, or inhabitants of Bedja, them-

[f] BURKHARDT, p. 391.

selves." He does not mention the name of Shangalla, though it is inserted in his map; perhaps it may be his *Segollo*[g], whose seat is in this region, together with their neighbours, the Hallenga and Hadendoa, alike infamous for their complete want of hospitality[h]. The accounts collected by Bruce[i] completely confirm that of Agatharchides. The habits of these tribes have remained the same for two thousand years; they are still the same rude savages they then were. They are still distinguished, as they then were, by their food, though, as will naturally be supposed, this must not be considered their only difference. The Hylophagæ still dwell under the branches of their trees, which they fix in the earth to make themselves tents. The account of the roots from the pool, is most likely a mistake, arising from the dhourra ground with stones, but prepared with a broth of roots and vegetables[k]. The Dobenatis, the most powerful race among the Shangallas, still live upon elephants and rhinoceroses, whose flesh they preserve by drying it in the sun, and cutting it into strips as they do the camels. The Baasa subsist upon the flesh of lions, and even snakes, which are found of an enormous size. Farther to the

[g] Burkhardt, p. 387.

[h] Burkhardt, p. 395. The Hadendoas, says the same traveller, p. 392, are beyond a doubt a branch of the Bischaries, as are all the eastern Nubians, having the same shape, language and customs.

[i] Bruce, ii, p. 539, etc. [k] Burkhardt, p. 417.

west still dwell a tribe who feed on locusts during the summer, which they preserve by first roasting and then drying them in baskets. "This country," says Burkhardt[l], "is the true breeding place of locusts. He himself saw how greedily the slaves with the caravan devoured them[m]. In the extreme east dwelt the *Struthiophagi*, or ostrich-eaters. They must inhabit plains where alone ostriches are to be found.

We have here therefore a new proof of the great influence which the natural circumstances of country and climate have upon the destiny of the human race. The tribes of Shangallas, which we have above described, still remain hunters and completely savage, because their soil is unfit either for agriculture or pasturage; the Bischaries and others follow a pastoral life, because their mountains afford food for their cattle. But a higher degree of cultivation can never be obtained in their country because its nature compels them to a nomad life.

Before quitting Ethiopia above Egypt, there still remains an Ethiopian nation to be noticed, highly celebrated in antiquity, and which Herodotus has copiously described, the Macrobians[n]. The expedition of Cambyses was directed against them, by which circumstance they have obtained a place in history.

[l] BURKHARDT, p. 391.

[m] BURKHARDT, p. 424. They take out the entrails and roast them over the fire. These slaves probably belonged to the race of *Æridophages*.

[n] HEROD. iii, 17—25.

A rumour of the vast quantity of gold which they possessed determined Cambyses to this expedition; he sent, however, before-hand, some spies into their country; and these were Ichthyophagi, whom he sent for from the city of Elephantis, as they understood their language. Cambyses furnished them with presents for the king of the Macrobians, a purple robe, golden necklace, bracelets, perfumes, and a cask of palm wine. These Macrobians, according to the statement of the Ichthyophagi, were a tall and beautiful race, had their own laws and institutions, and elected the tallest among them to the dignity of king. This monarch soon discovered that these ambassadors were spies. He looked at their presents, with the use of which he was unacquainted. The robe, the perfumes, and the necklace, which he took for fetters, he returned; the wine was the only thing which he found agreeable. He demanded how long the Persians lived, and what their king was accustomed to eat. They informed him, bread, describing at the same time the nature of corn, and that the greatest age to which the Persians attained was eighty years. He answered, that he did not wonder at their living no longer, who fed upon such rubbish; and that probably they would not live even so long if it were not for their drink, namely, their wine, in which they excelled the Macrobians. Upon being then asked by the ambassadors how long the Ma-

crobians lived, and upon what they subsisted; he replied, an hundred and twenty years, and sometimes longer; that their food was boiled flesh and milk. He sent to the Persian king, in return for his present, a great bow, and told the ambassadors to inform him, that when he could bend this bow as easily as a Persian one, he might undertake an expedition against the Macrobians.

The ambassadors were shown, as most remarkable, what was called the table of the sun; this was a meadow in the skirts of the city, in which much boiled flesh was laid, placed there by the magistrates every night, upon which all who chose might eat in the day. The inhabitants report that the earth brings it forth.—The ambassadors were next led to the prison, where the captives were bound in golden fetters; brass among the Ethiopians being one of the greatest rarities. Finally, they were shown the sepulchres, which were made of glass (ὕαλος), in the following manner. The corpse, after being emboweled, as in Egypt, is covered over with plaster. Upon this is painted the portrait of the deceased, as like as possible. It is then placed in a case of glass (probably crystal), which they dig up in great abundance. The dead body remains in this case without any disgusting appearance or smell, for a whole year; the nearest relation keeps it in his house, offering it

sacrifices, after which it is taken into the city and placed with the others.

I have purposely been somewhat copious in describing this nation; the account being in more than one respect instructive. The Macrobians must have been a nation already living in a city that possessed laws and a prison; that understood working in metals; and among whom considerable traces were found of a progress in the cultivation of one of the fine arts. Yet they were ignorant of agriculture, as they knew nothing of bread but by report; a great proof that our rule for judging of civilization will not at all apply to the African nations, who, proceeding from other points, and advancing in other directions, must necessarily arrive at a different end from that attained by Europeans.

Farther, it is evident that this nation must have inhabited the richest gold country of Africa: gold was the metal in commonest use among them, even for the fetters of their prisoners.

Bruce[o] takes the Macrobians for a tribe of the Shangallas, dwelling in the lower parts of the gold countries, Cuba and Nuba, on both sides of the Nile to the north of Fazukla. He appeals particularly to the bow which the king of the Macrobians sent to Cambyses, with a

[o] Vol. ii, 554, etc.

challenge for him to bend it. It is the custom of this race to bind round their bows ferrules of the hides of the wild beast they slay, whereby they are continually becoming stiffer, and at last become altogether inflexible. They then hang them on a tree as trophies of their prowess; such a bow it might have been which the Ethiopian king sent the Persian.

But, however probable this proof may appear, I cannot adopt the opinion started by this traveller; I feel rather inclined to believe, that the Macrobians must be sought for farther south, in another region. None of the Shangallas, that we know of, dwell in cities, or have reached that degree of civilization imputed to the Macrobians.

Herodotus mentions three particulars which may help us to discover the seat of this nation: they dwell, he says, on the Southern sea[p], at the farthest corner of the earth; and Cambyses, when he turned back, had not reached the fifth part of the way to their abode.

If we should take these statements, especially the latter, according to the letter, then the Macrobians must be sought for not only on the Indian sea, but very far to the south[q].

[p] ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ, that is, beyond the entrance of the Arabian gulf, on the Indian sea. Therefore, not in the interior, where the Shangallas dwell.

[q] How far south Cambyses reached in his expedition cannot be de-

But the way in which the story is related by Herodotus plainly shows that it partakes of the marvellous; and we shall be at no loss to account for this, if we consider that he derived his information from the Egyptian priests, from whom we derive nearly the whole history of Cambyses, of which this story forms a part. Now, besides the usual causes which lead to the bedizening and distorting of all narratives of this kind, another may be mentioned, which probably had a considerable influence in this case: namely, its relating to a rich gold country, whose true situation perhaps the priests felt no desire to reveal to a prying, curious foreigner; and therefore they merely gave him the common report. To extract the pure truth from this must therefore be a puzzling and difficult task; and although I may give the truth for no more than probability, I shall thereby at least screen myself from the reproach of wishing to pass my conjectures for facts.

The very story that there was in that hot, and by no means healthy climate, a people whose age exceeded the usual term allotted to man, which the appellation Macrobians implies, will scarcely obtain belief; though there must have been some foundation for this opinion. We learn from Bruce, that a custom prevails

termined from Herodotus. From what is said by others he must have gone as far as Meroë, perhaps to its boundaries. DIODORUS, i, p. 38.

among many of the pastoral tribes in these regions, of putting to death their old people when they are no longer capable of being removed from place to place[r]; let it be granted, therefore, that the Macrobians were not guilty of this cruelty (and that may easily be supposed of a nation so far refined); would not that circumstance, and the old persons that would be found among them be sufficient to have given rise to this popular tradition?

With regard to their abode, it seems to me, that that can only be determined from the two statements of Herodotus, that it lay on the Indian sea,—and that they dwelt in a country abounding in gold, which it either produced, or was the great mart for. In either case we are carried to some seaport beyond the Arabian gulf, although we may never be able to say with certainty which. It is only known that a district is spoken of where agriculture was not in use, as its inhabitants did not live upon bread, but flesh[s].

The account of what is called the table of the sun, is in itself so marvellous, that every reader will acknowledge it cannot be taken literally. It seems to be a figurative description, and was nowhere more likely to be the

[r] Vol. ii, 556. Herodotus mentions besides a wonderful spring, by bathing in which they prolonged their lives. If they dwelt in a mountainous district, mineral springs would be nothing extraordinary.

[s] The contempt of bread must have been applied to that made of dhourra, and baked, which becomes spoiled and unfit to be eaten in a very short time. Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, ii, p. 33.

case than among Egyptian priests; a key to it may probably be found in a later writer[t].

Cosmas[u], who bore the surname of the Indian, and, though perhaps never in India was at least in Ethiopia, has preserved us the following account of a remarkable trade, which was carried on with the rich gold country on the confines of the land of Frankincense.

"The land of Frankincense," he says, "lies at the farthest end of Ethiopia[x], fifty days' journey from Axum, at no great distance from the ocean, though it does not touch it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring Barbaria[y], or the country of *Sasu*, fetch from thence frankincense and other costly spices, which they transport by water to Arabia Felix, and India. This country of Sasu is very rich in gold mines. Every other year the king of Axum[z] sends

[t] See for what follows the Essay of H. Bothe upon the Macrobians, *Deutsch. Monatschrift*, July, 1799, to which the first edition of my work gave rise. The author seems to me, only to have erred, in placing the Macrobians in the proper country of Frankincense, which was a midland district, instead of at Sasu, which bounds it on the seacoast, and where gold is plentiful. It is clear however from the words of Cosmas, that the trade of which he speaks was carried on at Sasu; and only thus will there be a perfect agreement with Herodotus, who makes the Macrobians dwell on the seacoast. But, at all events, these districts lie close to one another, and the land of Frankincense is not far from the coast.

[u] He wrote about the year 535. The best edition of his *Topographia Christiana*, is in Montfaucon, *Coll. Nova Patrum*, tom. ii, p. 113, etc. to which I now refer.

[x] Cosmas, p. 138, 139.

[y] Barbaria is the general name of the east of Africa beyond the Arabian gulf; Sasu, on the contrary, is the name of a certain country or district. But we shall presently see that Barbaria here signifies some particular place in the territory of Sasu.

[z] That is of Abyssinia, of which Axum was the capital.

some of his people to this place for gold. These are joined by many other merchants, so that altogether they form a caravan of about five hundred persons. They take with them oxen, salt, and iron[a]. When they arrive upon the frontiers of the country, they take up their quarters and make a large barrier of thorns[b]. In the meantime, having slain and cut up their oxen, they lay the pieces of flesh, as well as the iron and salt, upon the thorns. Then come the inhabitants, and place one or more parcels of gold upon the wares, and wait without the enclosure. The owners of the flesh and other wares then examine whether this is equal to the price or not. If the former be the case, they take the gold, and the others the wares; if not the others still add more gold, or take what they have put down back again. The trade is carried on in this manner because the languages are different, and they have no interpreter; it takes about five days to dispose of the goods which they bring with them."

The truth of this statement is so much confirmed by internal evidence, that no one will hesitate to believe it. But in order to apply it to the account of Herodotus, two questions remain to be determined; where does the land of Sasu lay? and how far are we authorised to

[a] The Agows still reckon their tribute for the most part in oxen; Bruce, iii, p. 773. In this region the camel is no longer found, and oxen are the usual beasts of burden.

[b] Every thing agrees with the place. Thorn hedges, especially of the shrub *kantuffa*, are here the impenetrable boundaries. Bruce, ii, p. 443.

apply what Cosmas relates of it, in the times in which he lived, to those of Herodotus?

With regard to the situation of Sasu it is sufficiently pointed out by the description given of it. The African land of Frankincense, according to Bruce[c], begins at Babelmandel, and stretches eastward almost to Cape Guardefui, taking a part of Adel or Zeyla. The fifty days' journey given by Cosmas, as the distance from Axum, agree very well with this[d]. Now as the land of Frankincense joined Sasu, and Sasu lay near the sea, it is evident that the latter formed part of the coast, and also comprised one or even several seaports, from which the sea trade was carried on.

But it not only *was* carried on from thence, but *is* even at the present time. Lord Valentia, who entered this country from Mocha[e], has given us some interesting information on this head, upon which we may rely, and which besides has the merit of being as new and accurate as it is authentic. The coast from Babelmandel to Guardefui is inhabited by the Somaulies, a very dark race, with woolly hair, neither completely Negroes nor Arabians.

[c] Vol. i, p. 356. See his map.

[d] If we take with COSMAS, l. c. the distance from Alexandria to Axum at sixty days' journey, we shall find, even at this rate, that from Axum to Guardefui will be somewhere about fifty.

[e] VALENTIA's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 370—378. The author saw many of the Somaulies at Mocha. According to his opinion it would be the easiest to penetrate into the interior of Africa from the eastern part of their country.

They are not savages, as Bruce has pictured them, but a friendly, well-disposed race. Their country is the natural staple for the commerce between Africa and Arabia, in it the greatest marts are found. Gums, myrrh and frankincense, cattle and slaves, are the commodities exported, in exchange for which, and for gold and ivory, they receive the productions of Arabia and India[f], more particularly the latter. The princes of the interior, and especially the ruler of Hanim, twenty days' journey to the west, send numerous caravans to this place to purchase these wares. The great fair for them is Berbora[g], which lasts from October till April. The frankincense grows chiefly in the neighbourhood of Cape Guardefui, and the principal port for exportation is Bunder Kassin, near Cape Felix. The Somaulies send in their own vessels (for they have a sort of navigation act to carry for themselves, and to lade no Arabian vessels) to Aden. The situation of Aden, on the other side of the straits, which enables them to take advantage of both monsoons, renders this very easy. The profits of this trade, although the merchants only state it at fifty per cent., is accordingly very great. The commerce is only restricted by the customs, and other obstacles which the rulers

[f] Lord Valentia has even added tables of prices, and its yearly exports and imports.

[g] Borbora on Rennel's *Map*, upon that of Sossman it is improperly made an island.

throw in its way; without this it would be immense; and the period will perhaps shortly arrive when it may be so.

This trade, therefore, has continued full a thousand years, notwithstanding all the religious and political changes which have taken place, simply because the nature of the country itself points it out as the most proper staple for the productions of the two quarters of the world. But what is it that justifies our applying the narration of Cosmas to the period of Herodotus? Nothing decidedly but the conjecture, that as this trade in the time of Cosmas was already very old, it was very likely to have existed a thousand years before. This conjecture, besides, will not seem at all improbable to those who are acquainted with the unchanging nature of the commercial routes of Africa. The probability, however, becomes strengthened, because, in the first place, the trade in frankincense and spices is, as we may conclude from the vicinity of Arabia Felix, one of the oldest branches of commerce; and secondly, because only two hundred years after Herodotus, the name of the country of Sasu appears as a well-known and remarkable name, for in the celebrated inscription of Adule, which this same Cosmas has copied and preserved, Sasu is mentioned as the most easterly point of Ethiopia to which the king had extended his conquests [h].

[h] The inscription is well known as a monument placed by Ptolemey III. at Adule, as a memorial of his conquests in Ethiopia. In this inscription

If we may venture then to consider it as probable that the Macrobians of Herodotus should be sought for in this region, on the coast, or in one of the ports of Adel, in the vicinity of Cape Guardefui. This would place them in the country of the Somaulies, perhaps their descendants. If we may also venture to apply this description of Cosmas to the same people, then almost every obscurity in the account of them may be cleared up, and every thing appears in a natural light.

The altar of the sun is the market place in which the trade with the strangers was transacted. When we consider that even now, almost all the commerce of Africa is carried on under the protection of sanctuaries and temples, we can scarcely wonder, that religious notions should be connected with this seat of the trade, upon which perhaps the subsistence of the inhabitants depended.

This kind of dumb trade will not appear strange: we have already seen its counterpart on the western coast of Africa[1]. The same causes produce here the same effect. When it is said "that the chiefs of the people laid the flesh down at night, and that in the day any might eat of it who would; but that the inhabit-

Ptolemey is stated to have advanced *ἀπὸ δύσεως μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Σάσου τόπων*. Instead of *μέχρι τῶν* I read, *μέχρι ἐσχάτων*, "to the farthermost regions of Ethiopia and Sasu." The opinion of SALT, *Valentia's Travels*, vol. iii, p. 192, that only half the inscription belongs to Ptolemey, still requires a separate inquiry.

[1] See above, p. 176.

ants reported that it sprung from the earth;" the fact explains itself. This important trade was carried on under the care and inspection of the public magistrates; every one took what he chose, without doubt for payment; and as the merchants came from a very distant country, and were not themselves seen in the transaction, a vulgar error, like the one mentioned, might very naturally arise.

By the *boiled* flesh of Herodotus must probably be understood, dried flesh, as this is the usual way in which it is preserved in these regions [k].

The vast quantity of gold is easily accounted for; it was either a natural production of the country, or the inhabitants had accumulated it by commerce [l]. The presents of the Persian king, therefore, composed of golden ornaments and myrrh, and consequently of exactly those very commodities which they had in the greatest abundance, seemed to them a mockery, which the king of the Macrobians was fully justified in taking as an insult, and, therefore, returned it by another. The custom of hanging up the bows, mentioned by Bruce, can scarcely be altogether peculiar to the Shangallas, but has probably spread itself among their neighbours.

[k] We learn from Bruce and other travellers, that dried camel's flesh is one of the dainties of a caravan journey.

[l] Cosmas mentions this expressly in explaining the Adule inscription. The gold of that place, he adds, is called Tamcharus.

The golden fetters is likely enough to be a fable; but the rarity of iron and brass in these countries is a fact very well known. It is confirmed by Cosmas, who states that iron was one of the commodities carried there by the caravans and exchanged for gold.

Should my attempts to explain these difficulties still be considered as little more than conjecture, they will at least give us an example of the instruction which history may afford, even when tinctured with fable; and how the mist in which it is enveloped disperses of itself, when considered in the spirit of the country and people from which it proceeds[m]. It is however a very remarkable circumstance, and demands our particular attention, that Cambyses should have taken his spies from the Egyptian Ichthyophagi, because they could speak the language of these Ethiopians.

The Ichthyophagi derive their name from their food, which consists of fish, and therefore we cannot wonder at finding that besides the tribes in Africa, some also on the coasts of Persia and Arabia received the same appellation. Of the African Ichthyophagi, scattered along the coasts of the Arabian gulf, Diodorus has preserved a few particulars. They belong pro-

[m] Let me be allowed to add one conjecture upon another circumstance: the Macrobians as well as other Ethiopian people seem to be highly esteemed on account of their size and beauty. Might not this tradition have proceeded from slave dealers, who are wont to prize this or that particular tribe?

perly to the Troglodytæ, or cave-dwellers, and are only distinguished from the others by their food and manner of life, which has many peculiarities, that may be regarded as true additions to our knowledge of physiology[n]. Taken altogether, however, they strengthen the remark, which applies to the whole history of the human race, that the nations subsisting on fish are the very lowest in the scale of civilization. They appear to be complete savages, destitute of all domestic ties; with no dwellings except clefts and holes; and without even any fishing implements, as they only feed on those fish which are left behind by the retiring floods, which they prepare by pounding, and mixing them with certain seeds, by which they make them into a kind of broth. Although we have no late accounts of their manners and customs, yet, what Bruce says shows, that the inhabitants of these districts still remain wretched, miserable, and naked savages.

If this is a fair description of what these people were in antiquity, then indeed it becomes difficult to conceive how Cambyses came to choose them for spies; there is, however, in the narrative of Herodotus itself, a circumstance

[n] Diodorus says that they only drink every fourth day; when they go in hordes to the springs, and drink to such an excess that at first they lay down unable to move. The fear of enemies perhaps occasioned this custom. He relates of others that they are quite insensible to all threats or entreaties. Diodorus, i, p. 184—186; Bruce saw the same among his savages, iii. 73. Still more surprising facts are recorded by Azara of the tribes on the river de la Plata.

mentioned, which leads us to take a different view of the subject. Cambyses, he says, caused the Ichthyophagi to come from Elephantis in Upper Egypt. There must have lived, consequently, a party of them in Upper Egypt; the whole business, too, to which Cambyses appointed them, and their acquaintance with the country and language of the Ethiopians, make it more than probable, that they belonged to the roving tribes, who carried on the trade between Egypt and Ethiopia, and formed the caravans which travelled from one country to the other[o]. There is certainly no other way of passing from Egypt to the Macrobians but by a caravan, and these people must have been there once or more, as they understood their language. The name, besides, might have been continued to them, though they had adopted a new mode of life, of which many other instances are to be met with. Is it not very likely that they belonged to the Ababdsé, whose country stretches to the neighbourhood of these regions, and who have been, as is shown above, from the most remote periods, carriers of merchandise? I shall abstain from making any farther remark upon this circumstance; though it affords, at least, a passing proof, not only that a report of the rich gold countries had penetrated into Egypt, but

[o] Herodotus does not say how great the number of the Ichthyophagi was who were sent on this embassy; they may therefore very well have formed a small caravan.

that a rather active commercial intercourse really existed between the two countries at a very early period.

I cannot close these remarks without comparing the narrative of Herodotus with the prophecy of the most sublime of the Hebrew poets. They mutually explain each other. When Isaiah promises his people the trade of Egypt and Ethiopia, he adds, *and of the Sabeans, men of stature*[p]. I cannot hold these latter to be any other than the Macrobians of Herodotus—the nation who enjoyed the trade in frankincense. Herodotus also mentions their high stature. He not only says they are the longest lived, but also the tallest people; and upon the latter they place so high a value, that they elect the tallest among them for king. Saba lies on the African coast, at the entrance of the Arabian gulf[q]; consequently, in the very spot that we consider to have been the seat of the Macrobians. The prophet expressly mentions trading nations; the Ethiopians, the inhabitants of Meroë, and the African Sabeans, who enjoyed the trade in frankincense. The proofs and illustrations which these inquiries have already so often lent to the sacred writings, will give them, as I hope, a more extended interest than they might perhaps otherwise have hoped to enjoy.

[p] ISAIAH, xlv, 14.

[q] The Azab of Bruce. Compare Gesenius's Commentary in Isaiah. "The opulence of the Sabeans, high of stature," are the words of his translation.

CHAPTER II.

The State of Meroë and its Monuments.

LET THE MIGHTY MEN COME FORTH; THE ETHIOPIANS THAT HANDLE THE SHIELD! JER. XLVI. 9.

THE Ethiopian nations, with which we have become acquainted in the foregoing chapter, must altogether be ranked in the lowest grade of civilization. There still, however, exists an evident difference of improvement among them. We have already seen all the various gradations, from the complete savage, as described by Hanno, whose rank might have been disputed by the ourang-outang, to the hunting and fishing tribes; and again, from the latter to the nomad herdsman; yet we do not anywhere discover a single nation, that, united in a settled abode, formed itself into a great and well-organized state. Nevertheless there certainly did exist a better cultivated, and, to a certain degree, a civilized Ethiopian people, who dwelt in cities; who erected temples and other edifices; who, though without letters, had hieroglyphics; who had government and laws; and the fame of

whose progress in knowledge and the social arts, spread in the earliest ages over a considerable part of the earth;—that state was *Meroë*.

Meroë has been celebrated for upwards of two thousand years, but its distant situation has always involved it in mystery and obscurity. It is only within this last ten years that the dark cloud, under which it has so long been hid, has been dispersed by the hardy enterprises of Burkhardt and Caillaud, more particularly the latter. Meroë, however, did not appear alone; a new world of antiquities, whose existence had not even been imagined, were laid open to the view of the astonished spectator. The southern boundary of Egypt, and the last cataract of the Nile, had hitherto been considered as the utmost verge of ancient civilization and science. More distant regions, however, were now explored. The more early travellers, Bruce and his forerunners, first led the way by crossing the Nubian desert; others soon followed who penetrated up the Nile, keeping near its banks, where they discovered that succession of monuments, which has excited so much astonishment among all lovers of antiquity, as well by their number as their magnitude. Temple after temple appeared, sometimes erected upon, at others excavated in the rocks and the earth; scarcely had the travellers left one than another arose to their view. Colossal figures, buried up to their shoulders in sand, projected forth, while the under parts lay

mouldering away beneath. As the travellers continued their journey, an immense number of pyramids appeared, with temples and ruins of cities close by, or intermingled with them; and at last the distant Meroë itself; and, what realised the earlier hopes of the author, the ancient temple of Jupiter Ammon was discovered, still erect, and majestic in its ruins.

I shall now endeavour to give the reader a clear and concise account of these monuments. I do not indeed intend to go through them one by one, but shall take a survey of the most important, and particularly of those which are found in the works of Gau and Caillaud. Fortunately in these we have not to examine sketches hastily made, the drawings are free from all attempts at embellishment, and the ground plans and delineations are executed with critical accuracy. It will be necessary, however, to premise a few geographical remarks.

All the monuments that I shall describe in this section are found within the valley of the Nile; either close to the river, or at a moderate distance from it. The course of the Nile above Egypt, before its conflux with the Astaboras, lies through a valley enclosed on both sides by a chain of mountains, or rather hills, which sometimes retire, and sometimes advance till they almost approach the banks of the river. These, therefore, render impossible any great variation in the direction of the stream, though

they offer no obstruction to its lesser windings within the valley. It can scarcely be doubted, but that the soil of the valley was as fertile at one time in these regions as it is in Egypt itself; for where it could remain in that state it is still found so. Thus it becomes evident that this valley may once have been a highly cultivated country, with a numerous population, dwelling in a long series of cities. But these mountain chains being succeeded on both sides of the river by sandy deserts (on the east the Nubian, and on the west the great sandy waste, which stretches right across Africa), the sand has proved a still more formidable foe here than in Egypt. The lower mountain chain affording but a slight defence, this deadly enemy of all civilization not only penetrated into the valley, but has frequently, in part or altogether, buried the monuments. It cannot, therefore, seem at all surprising that the same cause should have occasioned some alterations in the river itself, many arms of which may, perhaps, have been forced into one, and small islands joined to the mainland. The valley of the Nile, at all events, was certainly very different from what it is now; traces are everywhere visible of old canals, formed for extending its periodical overflow; and these changes alone would have been sufficient to cause the inhabitants to sink and degenerate, if other un-

[a] Burkhardt, *Travels*, p. 14.

toward events had not happened. The river, deviating from its usually straight course, forms a bow from 19° to 23° by running to the west, deeper into Libya; and the inner part of this bow is occupied by the Nubian desert; soon however it winds again to the east, and reassumes a northern direction, which it preserves through Nubia and Egypt.

We are again indebted to Herodotus for the first accounts of the course of the Nile above Egypt[b]. He collected them in Egypt, probably in Thebes, or Elephantis, beyond which he never travelled. We are not to consider him here, therefore, as an eyewitness, but, as he himself informs us, as reporting what he heard from others. And here again we have to admire the keen and accurate inquirer, although some slight deviations from the present state of the stream seem to confirm the remarks we have just made upon its variations. "Beyond Elephantis, the boundary of Egypt," says Herodotus, "the country becomes higher; and in that part they drag on the boat, fastening a cord on either side, as you would to an ox. Should the hawser break, the boat is forced back by the violence of the current. This navigation continues four days; the Nile winding like the Meander; and it is a space of twelve schœni, seventy-two geographical miles,

[b] Herod. ii, 29.

over which you must navigate in this manner. Next you come to a smooth plain, where the Nile flows round an island named Tachompso. The parts above Elephantis are inhabited by Ethiopians, as well as one half of the island; the other half of which is held by the Egyptians. Close to the island is a vast lake, on the shores of which dwell Ethiopian nomads. Crossing this lake, you fall again into the stream of the Nile, which runs through it. Then, disembarking, you will perform a journey of forty days on the bank of the river; for in this part of the Nile sharp rocks rise above the water, and many shoals are met with, among which it is impossible to navigate. Having passed through this country, you will again embark in another boat, and navigate for twelve days, after which you will come to an extensive city, the name of which is Meroë."

Let us compare this statement of Herodotus with those of the latest travellers, and we shall find that what in their nature are not liable to change, such as the cliffs and rocks, still answer to his description; while, on the contrary, in other matters (supposing Herodotus rightly informed), some changes seem to have taken place. Among the moderns, Norden, a Dane, was the first who attempted to navigate the Nile above Egypt; and to draw maps of its course, which, after all that has since been done, are still the fullest in particulars, though

they only reach to Derri, Derar, or Deir, the end of his journey[c]. Within the lapse of ten years, Burkhardt, in his first journey, in which he kept near the banks of the river, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Dongola; in his second journey he traversed the Nubian desert[d]. The journey and map of Legh extend no farther than the second cataract[e]; and the magnificent work of Gau only reaches to the same place[f]. The statements of the Pole, Senkowsky, up to the same point, are very accurate[g]. Above the second cataract, from Wady Halfa to the boundaries of Sennaar, or the ancient Meroë, two British travellers, Waddington and Hanbury, have given a map of the course of the Nile[h]; for the more distant regions, the authorities are Bruce, Burkhardt, and, above all, Caillaud[i].

The winding of the stream above Syene is shown in Norden's twenty-fourth chart. It here holds a serpentine course, without, however, any considerable curves. Its current is so strong that Norden was often obliged to

[c] *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, par Fr. L. Norden; nouvelle ed. par Langles. Paris, 1795. The first edition appeared in 1752.

[d] *Travels in Nubia*, by Fr. L. Burkhardt. London, 1819.

[e] *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Countries beyond the Cataracts*, by Th. Legh, esq. London, 1816.

[f] *Antiquités de la Nubie*, par F. C. Gau. Paris, 1824, en xii livraisons.

[g] Fragments from the Diary, not yet printed, of a Journey through Nubia and Northern Ethiopia, in the year 1819, by Joh. von Senkowsky, given in *Neue Allg. Geogr. Ephemeriden*, B. xi, 1822.

[h] *Travels in various Countries of Ethiopia*, by S. Waddington, esq. and B. Hanbury.

[i] Caillaud, *Voyage à Meroë, au Fleuve Blanc*, etc.

quit his bark[k]; Legh mentions the same fact[l]; and the stream becomes so violent in the territory of Kalabshé, where the width of the stream is compressed to about thirty paces, as to render navigation very difficult. The voyage to the island Tachompso is stated by Herodotus to be twelve schœni, or seventy-two geographical miles, which were made in four days: navigation against the current of course admiting but of a short distance each day. The island Tachompso might therefore be the island Kalabshé, or another lying opposite, named Ghyrshe, about twenty miles farther.

The river contains many islands, of which a more accurate statement is wanting, but the lake through which it is said to flow, is the great difficulty. The river, it is true, sometimes spreads out to a greater or lesser breadth, but a lake is nowhere to be found. Was Herodotus then falsely informed? Or has the features of this region changed, and what was once a lake been choked up by sand? It is difficult here to decide. At the time, however, of the yearly floods, it is certain that the Nile in many parts, where the mountain chains run back and suffer its waters to cover the whole valley, presents the appearance of a lake. The navigation up the stream continues, then, unobstructed as far as the second cataracts, which all agree in placing near Wady Halfa, 21° 50′. They are

[k] Norden, tom. iii, p. 47. [l] Legh, p. 61.

not higher than those near Es-Souan; Gau gives views of both of them[m]; and Hanbury a description[n]. Above this cataract the bed of the river is often interrupted by rocky shoals, which cause rapids. Senkowsky enumerates five of these[o]; a third near Wady Attyr; a fourth near Wady Ambigo; a fifth under 21°, near Wady Lamulé, beyond which Burkhardt met with two others, the farthest on the north boundary of the kingdom of Dongola, 19° 30′. Thus far he states the navigation of the river to be obstructed; while Caillaud continues the interruption to Merawé, where the great falls, forty-five leagues wide, begin[p]. The Arabian geographers[q] place the first cataract in Nubia, near Bakin, ten days' journey above Es-Souan, which is the same as that of Wady Halfa; the second near the island Sai, 20½°; and the last near the fortress of Astenum. Exact uniformity cannot be expected in these enumerations, as the bed of the river is generally rocky, and two cataracts may easily be reckoned for one. Above the north boundary of Dongola the features of the country become much changed; the mountain chains retire farther back; the Nile, hitherto frequently pressed into a narrow channel, here spreads out into

[m] GAU, plate 1.

[n] HANBURY, etc. p. 6.

[o] SENKOWSKY, l. c.

[p] See his map.

[q] QUATREMERE, *Memoires sur l'Egypte*, ii, p. 7, etc., in the *Memoire sur la Nubie*, from Arabic manuscripts. The Arabian writers seem to reckon as one all the cataracts enumerated by Senkowsky.

many branches, which enclose a number of fruitful isles, adorned with palm-groves, vineyards, and meadows covered with numerous herds, especially of camels[r]. Similar accounts are given by the latest travellers. Every thing might here, says one, be found in abundance[s]. The hopes this gave rise to were certainly disappointed; but the devastation of contemporary warfare, by the army of Ismael, pasha from Egypt, seems alone to have been the cause.

The foregoing researches bring us into the immediate vicinity of the junction of the Astaboras, or Tacazze, and the Nile; that is, as will be presently shown, to the beginning of the ancient island of Meroë. It is time here to make a stand, and, before entering Meroë, to form an acquaintance with the monuments of the Nile valley thus far, to which I shall give the name of Nubian. The nature of the monuments, moreover, requires this division: for the region of the Pyramids begins in Meroë, as there has not yet been discovered any trace of them in Nubia.

The valley of the Nile was once covered on both sides of the river with towns or villages, of which Pliny has left us the names, and only the names, of twenty on each side: in his time they no longer existed[t], and he informs us that they were not destroyed by Roman wars, but

[r] These are the numerous islands spoken of by Diodorus, i, p. 38.
[s] Hanbury, p. 4. [t] Plin. H. N. vi, 35.

by the earlier contentions between Ethiopia and Egypt. These places must then necessarily have been very ancient; and the great population of the upper valley of the Nile favours our carrying them back to the time of the Pharoahs. We have no right to suppose that any of these places were flourishing cities. The great works in architecture here, as well as in Egypt, were confined to public edifices; the Nubian, during the day, lived almost entirely in the open air; his dwelling was little more than a resting place for the night. No wonder therefore that these slight built places, consisting merely of huts, should be swept from the earth, or become mere villages. Notwithstanding this, the ancient Parembole is still found in the present Debut, or Debod; the name of Taphis is preserved in Tafa; Kalabshé is the ancient Talmis; Pselcis is the present Dakke; Metacompso the modern Kobban; farther south is Primis, now Abrim; all these are on this side of the first Nubian cataract.

But though the dwellings of man have vanished, those of the gods remain. The series of temples begin again, on both sides of the Nile, almost immediately above the Egyptian cataracts. The first is that of Debod, twelve miles beyond Philæ, on the left bank of the Nile. At nearly the same distance, that of Kardassy; and at only five miles farther that of Tafa. Again, at nearly the same distance, the

two temples of Kalabshé, one built from the ground, the other hewn in the rocks. At about ten miles more the temple of Dandour; and again, at a like distance, the temple of Ghyrshe, partly above ground, partly hewn out of a rock. In ten miles the temple of Dakke: at the same distance that of Maharraka, and sixteen miles from thence that of Seboa, half built above, and half cut into the earth. Thirty miles farther stands the temple of Derar on the right side; and sixty miles farther the temple in the rocks of Ipsambul, with its colossi, forty-eight miles below the second or first Nubian cataracts of Wady Halfa, near to which stands another temple. Beyond this the chain is broken, and does not recommence till about one hundred and fifty miles farther, below the isle of Sai, where we meet with a larger temple; and then, thirty miles onward, is discovered the temple of Soleb, which Burkhardt takes for the most southern Egyptian temple. The first chain certainly ends here, but a new one begins on the frontiers of the ancient Meroë; for, about two hundred miles farther, near Merawé, and the mountain Berkal lying close by, the temples appear accompanied with groups of pyramids. About two hundred and forty miles beyond we come to the junction of the Nile and Astaboras, immediately across which we enter the island Meroë, and proceeding about ninety miles, arrive at the temples and pyramidic ruins of

the ancient city of Meroë, whose situation will presently be more accurately determined.

Though I now intend to enter more fully into particulars, and to make some observations upon the most important of these monuments, as they are represented to us by engravings, yet the reader must not expect that I shall go into any minute detail, which, indeed, without the plates before him, would rarely be understood. My principal object is by a glance at some of them to collect materials for a few general observations, which I shall afterwards bring forward. In prosecuting this plan a geographical arrangement will be most convenient, and I shall accordingly proceed up the banks of the Nile, from the boundaries of Egypt.

The monument at the village of Debod, on the left bank of the Nile, and the first above the cataracts, is a temple, built and ornamented entirely in the Egyptian style". It is not one of the largest, nor most ancient, and apparently was never finished. In the sanctuary stand two granite *monolithi*, with niches cut in them, probably as recesses for the reception of the sacred animals. The sculptures on the walls leave no doubt of the temple's having been dedicated to Ammon. They contain libations and presents offered to him and the kindred deities.

Gau, plate i—v.

Of the temples of Kardassy[x] and Tafa[y], too little is left for much to be said respecting them. They also are completely in the Egyptian style, and must be ranked with the smaller. When that of Kardassy was perfect it must have afforded one of the richest views; Gau has attempted to restore it from the yet existing remains.

The monuments at Kalabshé rank among the most precious remains of antiquity[z]. There are two of them, one an edifice cut out of the rock, the other beneath it. The first is a temple on the left bank of the Nile belonging to the middle size, and is wholly in the Egyptian style of architecture. The entrance is through a high portico into a colonnade, where many columns are still standing, of which Gau has given plates[a]; this leads into a covered hall of columns, then through two smaller saloons into the sanctuary. This monument is highly interesting from the bas-reliefs which ornament its walls. They are painted, and a copy of one of them is given in colours[b]. They are offerings probably presented by the kings (as his headdress is adorned with the *ureus*, the little projecting serpent, the symbol of sovereignty) to Ammon and his subordinate gods. The colouring is very remarkable. Those who present the offerings are always painted red, as they are elsewhere; but the deities are green,

[x] Gau, plate vii, viii, ix. [y] Ibid. plate x, xi.
[z] Ibid. plate xii—xxi. [a] Ibid. plate xix. [b] Ibid. plate xxi.

blue, grey, violet, and yellow. Upon all the monuments in the Egyptian style with which I am acquainted, the colour of the men is red; that of the women yellow. We are therefore justified by our present knowledge, in considering the other variours colours as appropriated solely to the gods. The second relief, however, is still more important. Like the other, it represents offerings to the gods; but then there follow in addition, the purification and consecration of the person who makes the offering, the whole in four compartments[c], which I consider a series of pictures relating to one subject. In the first compartment is offered a gift in a vessel, probably dates, to Ammon (without the ram's head, but with the horns on the headdress), behind him Isis and the deity with the sparrow-hawk's head. The second gift, offered to the goddess alone, seems to consist of ostrich-feathers. The third of frankincense in a vessel, again to Ammon; the fourth is very singular, it is a vessel upon which lies a utensil bearing the form of an eye. To these offerings follows, in the fifth compartment, the purification. Two priests sprinkle the candidate for consecration with water; in the sixth he stands with the priestly headdress on, between two priestesses, who rest one hand upon his shoulder and with the other seem to

[c] Gau, plate xxii.

consecrate him. Finally, he stands in the last between two priests (one with the sparrow-hawk's mask), who, laying hold of him, surrender to him the key, the emblem of consecration.

The second monument of Kalabshé, though smaller, and of quite a different kind, is still more remarkable. It is not raised from the ground, but cut below its surface, being entirely hewn out of the rock. Its walls contain a series of bas-reliefs[d]. It is very simple, and ninety feet long by nearly sixty wide. Through a corridor of sixty feet is an entrance to an antechamber, and again, out of this, into an inner chamber. I do not consider it to be a temple, but take it for a sepulchre. On the back wall of the inner apartment are two groups, each of three persons, sitting on benches[e]. The middle one is the figure of a man, with a female sitting at his side embracing him. The figure on the other side is much mutilated; it seems to have had the sparrow-hawk's head. The man in the centre has the *lituus;* the woman on the side has the *modius* on her head; every thing about them seems to prove that they are priests and priestesses. In stating my opinion that the whole is a sepulchre, or rather a family vault, I must observe that I do not come to this conclusion so much from the appearance of the building itself, as because there are

[d] Gau, plate xii, xiii, xiv. [e] Ibid. plate xiii.

family vaults very similar at Eleuthias in Egypt. But the most important part of this monument are the reliefs, of which I must premise that they seem to have nothing in common with the groups just mentioned. The latter are wrought in a ruder style, the figures being short and crowded, whereas the reliefs bear altogether the character of the perfected Egyptian art. The reliefs on one of the walls of the rock, represent warlike transactions in four compartments, again forming a single series. In the first the king or chief is standing in his war-chariot, driving among his flying enemies, who are the eastern pastoral tribes so often exhibited in similar circumstances. In the second, the king takes the hostile leader captive, as he gripes him by his hair. He is known as leader by his great size. In the third the king is seated, and the captives pass before him. They are three in number; the first two almost naked, the third in a long garment, all with their hands bound. In a lower compartment is represented the expedition of the victorious army by a group of Egyptian warriors. In the fourth the king sacrifices the captive leader, who is cringing imploringly at his feet: he is represented as about to kill him with a crooked sword or dagger. Cycles of representations of this kind frequently occur in the Egyptian reliefs.

The relief on the other wall of the rock is still more remarkable; not only because there

is no other of the same kind at present known, but because its meaning is so obvious. It fills two long compartments, one over the other; both, as is at once seen, forming but one subject[f]. It is neither a procession of priests, nor an offering of tribute as at Persepolis. It represents a king, after a victorious expedition, reviewing the booty. The king, known by his tall figure, is seated on a throne in full regal costume. He seems, though out of battle, as priest-king. In his right hand he holds the sceptre and the key of consecration, the left is raised; he appears to be speaking; on his head is the sacerdotal bonnet, with the emblem of sovereignty, and the globe. An herald presents a woman to him; she is without ornament, and imploring him with upraised hands. Two grown up boys are clinging to her. Can we here see a captive queen and her two sons, perhaps doomed as sacrifices? She cannot be a common prisoner, as she is placed before all the rest, as the most important of the booty. We have here, however, more than mere conjecture. History, as well as the monuments, confirm this view; as we soon shall see near Meroë. Behind the queen follows the booty; weapons, utensils, as chairs, fruits, clothes, skins, flagons, bread, etc., set out upon tables. Then follow wild beasts, with their leaders; a lion and a goat; then cattle, a pair of steers

[f] Gau, plate xiv.

ith horns artificially bent, next drivers, and
ien bearing skins and ebony. This is in the first
iece. The second begins with some Egyptian
arriors; a parcel of flowers and fruits; cap-
ves, the first with a halter round his neck,
ie other bound, both led by Egyptians (always
nown by their headdress), the prisoners are
irded with skins; again come the beasts, a
ound, a man, with apes and ebony; after
iese come a giraffe, led by a halter, a gazelle,
nother pair of steers with artificially bent
orns, and their leaders. Women with their
hildren next follow; one is leading an ape;
vo others are borne in a basket; a gazelle, an
strich, a hound, with a leader to each, who
metimes are likewise laden with ebony.—If
iere is no doubt respecting the nature of this
rocession, neither is there respecting the
ountries represented. Every thing shows them
be of Ethiopia, Meroë, and of central Africa.
irst the captive queen. History informs us
iat Meroë was often governed by queens; and
e moreover find them portrayed as heroines
id victors upon the monuments. That the
ptives, especially princes, were frequently
crificed is shown by many of the sculptures.
is not, therefore, without reason that she
plores for the lives of herself and terrified
ns. The costly furniture, tables, stools,
othes, weapons, etc., show that a rich and
vilized people had been conquered. Kine,
ith their horns artificially bent, are still found

on the east coast of Africa, among the Kaffers. The prisoners being girded with skins is explained by Herodotus. "The Ethiopians in Xerxes' army," he tells us, "were girded about with skins of panthers and lions[s]." But the wild beasts are particularly remarkable; the apes, the ostriches, and the giraffe, could only be found at a great distance from Meroë, in the deserts of central Africa. Yet we find neither the powerful rhinoceros, nor the mighty elephant; a certain proof of its not yet being tamed. And before whom was this procession exhibited? Before an Egyptian ruler; but who, his deciphered name may perhaps some time explain. If we question history, its answer will be Sesostris (also called Ramesses) the Ethiopian conqueror; he who so often appears on the Egyptian monuments; and certainly upon those, which, like the present, belong to the flourishing period of Egyptian art. What this monument represents can no longer be doubtful,—*the conquest of Ethiopia and Meroë by the Pharaohs.*

That this monument was hewn out beyond the boundaries of Egypt, in Nubia, the conquered country, is not at all strange; and that the side of a rock should be chosen for the purpose is quite conformable to the custom of the primitive ages. Whether it stood in any particular relation with the sepulchre or not,

[s] Herod. vii. 69.

I cannot decide. It will scarcely be taken for the tomb of the Egyptian chief, whose glory the relief perpetuates. In its interior is represented the consecration or purification and sprinkling of the Egyptian ruler, just the same as it is in the sculpture of the temple above ground[h]. Some religious motives seem therefore to have determined the choice of this particular spot. Four heads on the relief portrayed in a larger size, and two portraits of Nubians placed opposite, induced Mr. Gau to call our attention to the similarity between the present features of many of the African nations and those almost always found represented upon the monuments[i].

The temple at Dandour, however important in itself, only offers us a repetition of the scenes which we have already noticed[k]. This is not the case with that at Ghyrshe, which next follows in ascending the stream. We here, for the first time, find the grotto and temple architecture combined in the erection of a monument. The original foundation is a grotto hewn out of the solid rock, before which, at a later period, a portico has been erected.

The plan of the grotto is very simple[l]. Through a porch we enter a saloon; and beyond this is an inner apartment. It was evidently intended originally as a sepulchre for several families, as is proved by the five

[h] Gau, table xiii.
[i] Ibid. table xvi.
[k] Ibid. table xxiii—xxvi.
[l] Ibid. table xxvii.

groups found in the back ground[m]. The upper, or principal group consists of four figures, sitting on a bench; the four lower groups, each of three figures standing. In each is a man, and a woman embracing him, and a subordinate figure. They bear emblems of the priesthood; I therefore doubt not but they are families of priests. The vestibule consists of an open colonnade, in which, as well as in the hall of columns, stand gigantic figures of priests of Osiris as *caryatides*, on the pilasters[n]. "On these," says Belzoni, "may be distinguished the very ancient from the later sculptures. The artist was merely able to show that he intended them for human figures, which figures are so bad that they could only have been formed after an Ethiopian model[o]."

The temple at Dakke is one of the best preserved[p]. The entrance, separated from the temple, still remains, as well as the temple itself with its *propyla*. It is very remarkable that over the entrance is a Greek inscription, certainly of one of the Ptolemeys[q]; either the first or second Evergetes. By comparing it, however, with the Rosetta inscription, it appears to be the first of this name, or the third in the succession of Ptolemeys; and it there-

[m] Gau, table xxx. [n] Ibid. plate xxix.

[o] Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations in Egypt and Nubia*, p. 71.

[p] Gau, plate xxxiv—xxxvii.

[q] Ibid. plate xxxv. Ἐνέρ βασιλ——θεω——ις——leave no doubt of the fact, notwithstanding the mutilated state of the inscription.

fore affords us a proof, that he extended his conquests and dominion into these regions; the monument of Adule may therefore be in part or altogether ascribed to him. The sculpture on the walls represent gifts offered to Ammon and his temple companions. They are remarkable as picturing not only the king but his consort presenting offerings[r]. They are, moreover, in the purest and most perfect style of Egyptian art.

The following temple at Maharraka still shows traces of Grecian art[s]. Over the entrance is a half-reclining female figure, partly Egyptian, and partly Greek; near this a Greek inscription, attesting the adoration of a whole family, of which a boy is represented as offering the gift. "Nowhere," says Belzoni, "did I see Egyptian and Grecian rites more evidently united[t]."

The monument at Asseboa, or Sebu, which next follows, is still far more important[u]. It is not one of the largest but one of the most finished temples. First, a magnificent portico, followed by an alley of sphinxes; leading to

[r] See in particular the large lower relief in plate xxxviii. Both the king and queen (distinguished by the *ureus*) are offering gifts; he a large dish, with vessels, and she a wreath of flowers. Behind them are two of their followers, also husband and wife (without the emblem of dominion), with cattle and poultry. The same relief is twice repeated on each side, in every particular. Can we forbear then to consider it as Ptolemey III. and his consort Berenice?

[s] GAU, vignette, livr. viii.

[t] BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 73.

[u] GAU, table xlii—xlvii.

the first pylon, before which sit two colossal figures. Through this we pass into an open colonnade, and out of this into a covered hall of columns, with priests of Osiris instead of caryatides on the pillars. Next follows the sanctuary with the representation of the holy ark. All this is above ground; but there are several rooms joining thereto hewn in the rock. Thus we find the case here to be the reverse of what it is in the temple at Ghyrshe. For there the temple is hewn in the rock, and only the vestibule stands free; while here we have the temple free, and only the subordinate building hewn in the rock. The greatest part of the temple, however, is covered with sand. The sphinxes are of one peculiar shape; they bear the high priest's bonnet, which I do not remember to be the case anywhere else. The reliefs in the interior, with their colours, are in fine preservation; representing gifts offered to Ammon and his kindred gods. They must be ranked, according to the plates of Gau, among those of the perfected Egyptian art; although, according to Legh, they are, at least the hieroglyphics, of a ruder character. "Probably," says he, "this monument is more ancient than the Egyptian[x]."

The temple of Amada, half buried in sand, bears a cupola, a proof of its having been adapted to the Christian worship[y]. Champol-

[x] Legh, p. 66. [y] Gau, table xlviii.

lion, nevertheless, has demonstrated its high antiquity, by discovering upon it the name of Pharaoh Thutmosis, the expeller of the Hyksos [z].

The monument of Derar, notwithstanding its small size, is still remarkable [a]. It is altogether cut in the rock, without any building before it. The plan is exceedingly simple. It was a temple of Ammon. The procession of the holy ark is represented in the sanctuary [b]. The king comes forward kneeling, and presents an offering; but upon another wall he kills a captive, evidently intended as a sacrifice. The god with the falcon's head advances, and brings to the king the sword or dagger. A similar subject is portrayed in the temples of Thebes.

We now approach those stupendous monuments which, principally by the exertions of Belzoni, have been rescued from the sand and restored to day, and are celebrated under the probably corrupted name of Ipsambul throughout Europe [c]. They are two rock-monuments, a smaller and a larger. The first, nearest the Nile, shows itself to the passing vessels, by six gigantic figures, which seem, as it were, to keep watch before it. Burkhardt and other travellers had already mentioned this: but behind it,

[z] CHAMPOLLION, *Systeme Hieroglyphique*, p. 241.
[a] GAU, table l, li, lii.
[b] GAU, table li.
[c] In GAU, Abusambul, table lv.

and still almost entirely covered with sand, out of which only the heads of two vast colossal figures project, is the great temple itself; these two figures, standing like sentinels before its entrance. Belzoni not only discovered it, but with astonishing perseverance cleared away the sand, and laid it open to view. And what sensations he must have experienced as the light broke in and gradually revealed, by its solemn glimmer, these gigantic forms! Before the entrance four colossal figures sit as guards, the largest yet known, being sixty-five feet high:—in the interior, first the colonnade, with gigantic figures of Osiris on the pilasters, nearly thirty feet high: the walls full of sculptures representing battles and triumphs. Out of this we step into a hall of columns, with similar gigantic figures; next to this an antechamber, which is followed by the sanctuary, with many side chambers. In the back ground is a colossal figure sitting upon a bench; and similar ones are in the side chambers. In the midst of the sanctuary stands a pedestal[4]. This monument is usually called a temple, yet I will venture to maintain that it was no temple, but intended for a sepulchre. The object in the sanctuary proves the truth of my opinion. An object like this is never seen so situated in any Egyptian temple, though it is common enough in the sepulchres. We have already

[4] In Belzoni the two last plates but one; in Gau, the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth.

seen proofs of this at Kalabshé. But still it was a family tomb, perhaps of priests; but here it seems highly probable that we have the sepulchre of a king. If the monument had been originally a temple, a *monolithus* would have stood in the sanctuary. Instead of that we have here a pedestal, upon which probably a sarcophagus once stood. What ruler it was, who has here taken up his last abode I dare not venture to decide. If it were an Ethiopian king, then have we here again the archetype of the kings' tombs at Thebes, but the latter, although certainly not larger, were far superior in magnificence.

What is here said of the larger monument applies also to the smaller; and is still farther confirmed by Gau's having given a plate of the inner sanctuary, as well as a view of the façade. Six colossal, though smaller figures, stand here as sentinels; three on each side, each middle figure being that of a female. They are priests and priestesses, as is shown not only by the headdress, but also by the key, the emblem of consecration, which even the females retain: in the men the upper part seems to be broken off. The subjects on the walls of the colonnade are of the same kind as in the large monument; scenes of war and triumphs. But the most important are the painted reliefs in the sanctuary[e]. Four figures

[e] Gau, table liv.

are portrayed, all sitting on a bench. They are not however of one family. The red, principal figure I take to be the king, placed between two deities, which they appear to be, the one on the right from his bluish colour, the one on the left from his falcon-head. The fourth figure on the side, of a yellow colour, I cannot explain.

The monuments hitherto spoken of lie altogether on this side the second cataract, which is about forty-five miles distant from Ipsambul. But as beyond this the monuments become rarer, the temple of Soleb, 20° 20′, which Waddington has described and Caillaud delineated, must not be passed by[f]. According to the first it is among the lightest built temples; but nevertheless interesting to us from the sculptures, of which Caillaud has given engravings. Among them are prisoners with their arms bound behind them, one a negro, with a complete negro profile[g]. Every thing about this temple however is entirely in the Egyptian style; Burkhardt therefore is perfectly right in marking it on his map as the most southern monument of this kind, wishing to keep it distinct from those of Meroë, at which we shall presently arrive.

Let us now consider the observations to which this acquaintance with the monuments gives rise; and inquire what certain and what

[f] Waddington, p. 171. Caillaud, plate xii, xiv.
[g] Caillaud, plate xiv.

probable results may be deduced therefrom. And first it is certain that the religion, rites, and arts of Egypt were not confined to its proper territory, but extended to the upper valley of the Nile. We see the same deities worshipped here as in Egypt; though the number is somewhat less. The rites of Ammon everywhere predominate; and after his, those of his temple companions and kindred. He himself occasionally appears with the ram's head, and sometimes in a human shape; but still with the attributes which distinguish him as Ammon. Next to him comes his son Osiris, known by the scourge and sceptre. A female form always accompanies both these where the space will allow it: Ammon, with the ram's head, by his wife Satis. He, however, as well as Osiris, is often accompanied by Isis, known by the cow's horns in her head-dress, between which is placed a globe of the world or sun. The other deities bear the heads of animals, especially those of the falcon and dog. I leave the farther particulars respecting them to mythologists; all that is required here is to determine in a general way the prevailing religion.

In speaking of the monuments it is necessary to distinguish between the architecture itself, and the ornaments which they have received from the hand of the sculptor[h].

[h] CHAMPOLLION, *Syst. des Hieroglyphes*, p. 99.

The character of the architecture is upon the whole decidedly the same; but still there is a progress in it, which, in my opinion, is not to be mistaken. In the monuments of Egypt we find this art in its greatest perfection, and perhaps, at times, even in its decline; but here we see it in its rise and progress. The small grottos, especially those of Derar, appear to me to exhibit the earliest attempts of the art; these were afterwards improved; but how many shades of improvement must the art have undergone before it attained that sublime magnitude in which it exists at Ipsambul. I think however that I have proved that these grottos, at least originally, were not temples, but sepulchres. That this was the case with all I cannot venture to determine; I shall speak only of those in which the above-mentioned object is found in the sanctuary; and I feel convinced of its being so at Kalabshé, Ghyrshe, and Ipsambul. Respecting the monument at Derar I have some doubts, from there being no accurate delineation of the sanctuary.

The science of architecture therefore commenced with grottos and the tombs within them, and became perfected by degrees. And is not this a proof that this architecture was indigenous and not of foreign origin? Do we not see that its first attempt was the construction of tombs, and is not that a striking proof that it was not of Indian origin? For though we are acquainted with mighty grotto-works in

India, yet have we nowhere the least trace of their having been sepulchres. The disciples of Brama, in fact, do not bury their dead; they burn them.

The rock-monuments determined very naturally the principal character of the Nubian-Egyptian architecture to the colossal form which it assumed. In those caverns, already partly prepared by nature, the eye was accustomed to dwell on huge shapes and masses; so that when art came here to the assistance of nature, it could not move on a small scale without degrading itself. What would statues of the usual size, or neat porches and wings, have been, associated with those gigantic halls, before which only colossi could sit as watchmen, or lean on the pillars of the interior?

From the grottos this architecture trod forth into the open air. And is it not sufficiently evident how the monuments of Nubia underwent this change? We have seen them, like that of Ghyrshe, half in the rock and half in the open air. This union is still important on another account, it proves as clearly as possible, that the grotto monuments are the most ancient. For no rational being will believe that the porticos are older than the grottos.

But, notwithstanding I maintain that these grotto buildings, in their origin, were sepulchres, I do not deny but that they might afterwards

have become temples. Religious ideas easily associate themselves with repositories of the dead: and if a certain veneration was shown to the deceased kings,—which we now know, from the Rosetta inscription, to have been the case with regard to the Ptolemeys, who indeed were but the successors of the Pharaohs, —then, indeed, their sepulchres must likewise have been temples, where they were not made expressly inaccessible.

Architecture, however, quitted its junction with the grottos, and mounted a third step, by erecting monuments unconnected with these excavations.

All these edifices, without exception, so far as they are yet known, are temples; we find none beyond, which we can hold ourselves justified in calling sepulchres, or, as in Thebes, palaces. I have already remarked, and their appearance testifies to its truth, that they bear throughout the character of Egyptian architecture. How far the earlier or later Egyptian style can be distinguished in them, I must leave to the judgment of architects. One difference I cannot pass over in silence. Notwithstanding the Nubian temples, like the Egyptian, exhibit pylones, colossi, colonnades, column-halls, and sanctuaries, yet there is nowhere to be found among them an obelisk, or the least trace of one. The magnificence which these proud monuments imparted was confined

to Egypt[1]; and this alone is a proof that they were first erected in that country, where the architecture of the valley of the Nile was improved and carried to its highest perfection.

From the architecture let us turn to the sculpture or reliefs, with which the walls and columns of these monuments, as well below as above ground, are so profusely ornamented. And here at once a question presses itself upon our attention, namely: in what relation did these stand to the monuments? Did they form a part of them originally, or were they added at a later period? Are they by the same artists, or by others? Who would not at once decide in favour of the first, and consider the monuments and decorations as forming one whole, if a great difficulty did not, at the first glance, present itself. In the architecture, and even in the colossal statues, we have traced a progress, from the first attempts almost to their perfection; while in the reliefs nothing of the kind is discernible: they all belong to the perfected Egyptian art. How then can we account for sculpture having already attained this perfection, while architecture was gradually progressive in its improvement? I can only explain this extraordinary circumstance, connected with the rock-monuments, by supposing that their walls were not ornamented with reliefs till a later period; and that the sculp-

[1] That of Axum, which will be hereafter spoken of, does not belong to Nubia.

ture has no connection with their original destination as sepulchres. Whoever will compare the sitting figures, which represent family groups of the deceased, with those on the wall, will find no resemblance whatever between them either in countenance or shape. In the reliefs these are invariably long and slender; but in the sitting figures, short and thick. These observations apply particularly to the monuments of Kalabshé and Ipsambul; in those built from the ground there is no such disproportion between architecture and sculpture. Until the deciphering of the hieroglyphic writing, therefore, shall give us better information, I shall consider it probable, that the Egyptian rulers, who invaded Nubia, made use of the ancient rock-monuments, which they found already existing, and endeavoured to perpetuate their fame as victors and conquerors, by pictorial representations on the walls of their pious and heroic deeds. The latest discoveries of Champollion confirm this view of the subject. Ramasses the Great, otherwise called Sesostris, was the hero thus honoured; every part of the great monuments of Ipsambul, Kalabshé, Derar, Ghyrshe, and Seboa, bear records of his fame[k]

The subjects portrayed on these monuments may be mostly comprised under three classes: adorations, processions, and military triumphs.

[k] CHAMPOLLION, *Precis du Systéme Hieroglyphique*, 220.

It is necessary, however, before entering upon them in detail, to premise a few general observations.

All accounts agree in attributing these temple buildings to the kings.—But for what purpose were they erected? They are described to us as memorials, by which the remembrance of the kings was preserved by the priesthood; for the Egyptian priests confessed to Herodotus, that of those kings who had left no monuments they could relate nothing more than a catalogue of names[1]. But in what sense were these buildings memorials of their founders? Were they merely such that at the most they did but preserve the remembrance of a ruler; or rather might not the representations on the walls,—those numerous reliefs with which they are covered,—have had a farther object; namely, that of exhibiting the history of the king's reign? The nature of things seems to require our assent to this view of the subject, which is farther confirmed by the historical passages, those military triumphs, which we find portrayed upon them. This matter, however, will appear in a clearer light, if we fairly consider what the history of the reigns of these kings would comprise.

They are *priest-kings;* that is, kings who, if they did not by law belong to the priest-caste, were yet held in great dependence by that

[1] Herod. ii, 101.

body; a dependence not consisting in mere words, but in an active expression of their reverence by sacrifices and offerings, which, nevertheless, were not without recompense; but, on the part of the priesthood, were returned in favours to the rulers, to them of importance; among which reception into the caste, and promotion, were perhaps deemed—as among the Indians—the highest.

The history of such kings was therefore necessarily twofold. One ecclesiastical, which comprised the homages offered to the priests, and the recompenses received for them; the other political, which contained the enterprises of the kings, and, above all, their military exploits.

I scarcely need state which of these two the priests would consider most deserving their attention. Though the political ranks highest with us, the other certainly had the highest claims to their regard.

Now if the temples of the kings were erected for the preservation of their memory, would they not have desired, above all things, to perpetuate their history by them in the way just explained? The contrary is almost inconceivable; but a more accurate view of the monuments, and the information, lately obtained, leads to the result we should have anticipated.

We have another proof that political or military history ranked below the ecclesiastical:

not only the disproportion in the numbers of the two show this (that of the historical reliefs being very insignificant compared with the others), but also the places assigned them; the representation of political affairs being confined to the outside of the pylones, and perhaps the partition walls of the open hall of pillars, and even not exclusively to these. The battle pieces extend no farther. The triumphal processions, which, from their offerings to the gods, pertain to the ecclesiastical character, obtain at best only a place in the covered column hall; consequently in the place where the people assembled and worshipped, but never in the inner sanctuary. This is sacred to religious affairs; although these previously occupy almost the whole of the walls and columns of the vestibule and halls; indeed even the façade of the pylones. Everything, in short, proves that religion was here predominant, and that what we should regard as most important was thrown here into the back ground.

These ecclesiastical pictures, then, claim our first attention; and who indeed could help asking, even at a cursory glance, for what they were intended? Were they merely decorations of the walls? or, if their general object was the promotion of religion, had they not particular and special objects as well? What can we make of them, and especially of the numerous repetitions of the same circumstance, unless we adopt some such notion as this?

It appears to me, that the late discoveries, especially the Greek inscriptions, for copies of which we are indebted to Gau and Caillaud, lead to a farther solution, by being compared with what we find exhibited upon the most ancient monuments. These Greek inscriptions give us important information respecting the solemn adoration[m] of the Egyptian deities, upon the ceremonial with which they were performed, and their relation to the temple, and the views with which they were made and received.

These adorations were solemn acts which a man performed, with the approbation of the priests, for himself, or even for his family. They were not, however, celebrated empty-handed, but accompanied with gifts and offerings; and for these the donor obtained that the remembrance thereof, and the honors conferred on account of them, should be preserved by an inscription on the walls of the temple. To this class belong the numerous Greek, and, in part, the Egyptian inscriptions, which the travellers I have so often mentioned copied[n].

[m] The Greek expression is προσκυνήματα.

[n] See in particular the inscription of Cartasche given by Gau. The title of priest was the honour obtained; and this dignity was many times repeated, and raised the rank of the persons on whom it was conferred, till they obtained the title of chief-priest (ἀρχιερεὺς), and father of the priests (πατὴρ τῶν ἱερῶν). It is certain that it was procured for money; there are examples of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty pieces of gold being paid for it. A certain Makrinus paid one hundred and ten for two titles; another gave a talent and upwards. In the inscription, number xxiv, the

"This is the adoration of such a one," sometimes with the addition of the sum which he had paid to the temple. A kind of tax, indeed, became formed, which a man paid once or more, according as he desired honours or grants from the temple. These consisted of priestly titles, and of privileges connected with them; perhaps something like those which a pilgrimage to the holy cities now gives to the disciples of Islam. The persons who came to worship were often pilgrims from distant lands (the reader may bear in mind the customs of the east, and the example from holy writ of the chamberlain of queen Candace, who came to worship at Jerusalem); though it was not religion and piety alone which induced many to undertake the distant journey.

It appears from the inscriptions, that it was mostly persons of the higher ranks, such as statesmen, commanders, governors, and the like, that procured these titles for their adorations; as might indeed be expected from the expense with which they were attended; though it is not likely that the gifts of the inferior classes were disdained. But, what is of particular consequence to us, even the kings of the house of Ptolemey were followers of this custom. The temples of Philæ contain many inscriptions of kings who had celebrated such

price of the title of under-priest is estimated at thirty pieces of gold, and that of chief-priest at sixty. Compare the observations of NIEBUHR, in *Dissertation*, p. 13.

adorations, and perpetuated the remembrance thereof by inscriptions[o]. And if the explanation I have above given concerning Ptolemey Evergetes and his consort be correct, whether it be the first or second of that name, it becomes clear that it was done not merely by inscriptions, but also by pictorial representations on the walls, which, probably, in the latter period of these monarchs, fell into disuse, as the Greek language became usual for inscriptions; which was not so well adapted as hieroglyphics to accompany pictorial representations: other causes which occurred under the latter Ptolemeys may also have operated.

Let us apply these observations to the period of the Pharaohs, and its monuments, and with what increased interest shall we then regard the work of the sculptor, whose appearance testifies that they for the most part relate to such adorations. Whether these were only offered by kings, or by others as well, I will not venture to determine; but that the greatest proportion of them are royal oblations is shown by the ensigns of dominion with which the offerings are so frequently adorned. To explain the whole, it would be necessary to have the ritual of the priests, which, unfortunately, we are without. From that we might learn how this or that oblation was connected with its attendant ceremony; how it gave the right to

[o] See the proofs in the *Dissertation* already quoted, p. 21. The kings were some of the last of the house of Ptolemey.

wear this or that ornament on the head, or this or that ensign of the priesthood; how they led to washings and purifications, and at last even to admission into the priestly order; as this is many times represented in a manner not to be mistaken. Add to this, that Ammon was the deity of an oracle, and that many of these adorations could have no other object than that of obtaining favourable oracles from him, which none could require more than kings in their enterprises. The difference, therefore, between the earlier and later usage consisted in this, in the later period the matter was merely recorded by an incription, while in the more ancient it was perpetuated by a pictorial representation of the act itself, accompanied, however, with hieroglyphic writing, a farther key for the solution of which may perhaps be soon afforded us. What, however, was represented could naturally be no more than the prescribed ceremony; the more trifling offerings must certainly have been very different from the sums paid for admission into the priesthood.

I cannot, therefore, consider these pictorial representations as mere ornaments, or the fanciful creations of art; I regard them as historical. They set forth the ecclesiastical life of these priest-kings. And if it be remembered, that the completion of one of these stupendous monuments required centuries, and this is a fact beyond all doubt, it may then be conceived

how one of them might contain the church annals of an empire.

And do not these ideas completely harmonise with what Champollion, the most acute inquirer into these subjects[p], has said upon the origin of these monuments? "The study of them shows," he says, "that the Egyptians in general first erected the great masses of these edifices; covered them with large plain surfaces, and only completed at first the ornamental part of the architecture, when they polished and prepared all the smooth surfaces of the monument. After these labours the reliefs were set about, and ornamented with innumerable hieroglyphic characters, which covered the pillars and walls. This was the decoration of the monument, and proved the longest operation, and required the most care. Many reigns might pass by, many dynasties might succeed each other, ere the decoration of one of these stupendous monuments was completed." In all this I agree with the learned writer; the works left unfinished prove its truth. I cannot, however, believe that these were mere decorations. The foregoing remarks place these phenomena not only in a clearer, but in a more natural light.

In addition, however, to the ecclesiastical history of these priest-kings, their political is

[p] *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. xiii, p. 416.

also portrayed upon the walls of their monuments; their military expeditions, their battles, their triumphs. These representations, however, are evidently copies of those in Thebes; they display the deeds of Egyptian conquerors, who wished to perpetuate their remembrance in the conquered countries, on the monuments they found there, of which I have already given proofs. In my researches upon Egypt I shall examine this subject more particularly, and shall, therefore, confine myself here to one remark respecting Nubia.

It is an important circumstance, that Egyptian art should always have been so careful to distinguish the conquered nations in these pictures by their colour, features, clothing, and arms. Their variety, however, is not so great upon the Nubian monuments as upon those of Thebes[q]. Negroes, known by their profile, only occur once or twice as captives[r]. The remainder, throughout, have the same colour, physiognomy, beard, and clothing: the colour is yellow, the clothing long, the beard short but projecting, the hair black, and on the females hanging down in ties[s]. Though it may appear strange that we here see the same nations warred upon by the Egyptian rulers, who

[q] See especially the reliefs upon the tombs of the kings in BELZONI, plate vii, viii, where the people of white, red, and black colour, are distinguished likewise by their clothing and physiognomy.

[r] See above, p. 366.

[s] See GAU, table xiv, and lxi.

indeed often governed Nubia, that we so often see in Egypt itself, yet is this not to be wondered at, because the inhabitants of both countries had the same enemies. Nubia, like Egypt, was surrounded by pastoral nations, of whom the most formidable were those towards the Arabian gulf. The conquering of herdsmen, which is so common a circumstance in the history of Egypt, is not less so in that of Nubia. The greatest and longest wars were carried on against them, and are, therefore, represented upon the monuments. There can be no doubt of their being pastoral nations; for they are not only accompanied by women and children, as nomads usually are, but even the flying herds are portrayed[t]. Whether Arabian or Libyan nomads I will not venture to decide; it is easier shown that both had their seat in these regions: the yellow colour, the clothing and hair, seem to argue for their being Arabs. The fruitful valley of the Nile, with its treasures and temples, could not but often allure them to plunder and inroads.

The most interesting of the processions belonging to this part of my subject have now been explained[u]; at another oportunity I shall discuss the sacerdotal. We have thus far become acquainted with the monuments of Nubia. There are others besides these to which I shall now proceed,—those upon the island of Meroë.

[t] Gau, l. c. [u] See above, p. 352.

But where is Meroë to be found? This is the first and most important question that demands our attention. The whole of the following inquiry can only become creditable and determinate by an accurate settlement of the locality.

If we first question Herodotus, we shall find that he has given us some important hints in what he has told us of the course of the Nile above Egypt. He recommends us to leave the vessel near the island Tachompso, in order to avoid the cataracts, and to make a forty days' journey by land near the banks of the river, after which a new voyage of twelve days will bring us to the city of Meroë. The fixing the journey *near* the banks of the river is here of great consequence; as by this course the Nubian desert is avoided, and by following the various bendings of the stream the way is much lengthened. There is still, however, much vagueness in these statements, as the windings of the river are not accurately pointed out. According to Waddington's map, the distance from the cataract of Wady Halfa to the influx of the Tacazze is six hundred geographical miles, to which must be added one hundred and twenty miles from Kalabshé, where we suppose the island Tachompso to be, to Wady Halfa. However uncertain therefore the reckoning may remain, the forty days' journey will nevertheless carry us into the territory of Atbara, between the Nile and the Astaboras, to the northern

part of the empire of Sennaar. It remains to be seen, whether what other writers have said will fix its situation more accurately.

Herodotus only mentions the city of Meroë. All other writers describe Meroë as an island, with a city of the same name[x]. They therefore do not contradict Herodotus; the following will tend to show that the situation of the city, as laid down by Herodotus, agrees with their statements.

"The Astaboras," says Agatharchides, "which flows through Ethiopia, unites its stream with the greater Nile, and thereby forms the island of Meroë, by flowing round it[y]." Strabo is still more precise[z]. "The Nile," says he, "receives two great rivers which run from the east out of some lakes, and encompasses the great island of Meroë. One is called the Astaboras, which flows on the eastern side; the other the Astapus. Some mention instead the Astosabas, and distinguish therefrom the Astapus, which runs in a course very nearly parallel with the Nile. Seven hundred stadia above the junction of the Nile and the Astaboras is the *city* of Meroë, bearing the same name as the island."—To these statements, which are quite sufficient to settle the situation of Meroë, I must add, even at the risk of being tedious, the testimony of Pliny. "In

[x] Diodorus, i, p. 38. Strabo, p. 1134. Plin. vi, 29.
[y] In Huds. *Geogr. Min.* i, p. 37.
[z] Strabo, p. 1134.

the midst of Ethiopia," he says, "the Nile bears the name of Astapus[a]. It here forms great islands, which it scarcely flows round in five days, especially the island of Meroë, where its left branch is called the Astaboras, and the right Astaspes. It first takes the name of the Nile where all these branches unite."

A glance at the map will immediately show where the ancient Meroë may be found. The Astaboras, which flows round it on the eastern side, is the present Atbar, or Tacazze; the Astapus, which bounds it on the left, and runs parallel with the Nile, is the *Bahar el Abiad*, or *white river*, which, perhaps, should properly be called the Nile. I do not hold myself bound to determine other small streams, which have nothing to do with my subject[b].

The accounts of the Arabian geographers throw a still clearer light upon this matter[c]. The Nile they say divides itself into seven streams, three of which are large, and the others smaller. One of the former runs from the east, and, therefore, without doubt is the Astaboras, or Tacazze, called also the blue stream. The second of the larger streams is the white Nile, which runs from the west, therefore the Astapus, whose water is as white as milk. The third is the green Nile, running from the south-east, therefore the proper Nile of the

[a] PLINY, v, 9. He confounds the Astaspes and Astapus.
[b] For that consult BRUCE, ii, p. 253, etc., and iii, 646. *Edit.* 1790.
[c] See QUATREMERE, l. c. ii, p. 7—21.

moderns; its water is so clear that the fish are visible at the bottom of it. The four smaller streams likewise come from the south-east, and run into the green Nile. They may be seen in Bruce's map. The country between these streams is the empire of Alua, which begins where the first of them, the Tacazze, joins the Nile. The capital of the empire, called Sujah, a handsome well-built town, is situated at the junction of the white and green Nile[d]. Between these rivers is an island whose extent is unknown. It is therefore evident that this island, or the empire of Alua, is the ancient island of Meroë.

Diodorus has accurately stated the size of the island Meroë. "It is three thousand stadia, he tells us, that is, three hundred and forty English miles in length, and one thousand stadia, or one hundred and fifteen miles in breadth[e].

And finally, Pliny determines its distance in miles from Syene in Egypt. Eratosthenes, he says, computed it at six hundred and twenty-five, and Artemidorus at six hundred Roman miles. Shortly before his time, however, under Nero, the distance was measured, and found to be eight hundred and seventy-three Roman miles to the nearest part of the island[f]. All

[d] Bruce has placed here upon his map a town, Halfaia, whose name perhaps comes from Alua.

[e] Diodorus, l. c.

[f] Pliny, vi, 29.

these measures may have been right, according to the roads taken. The Roman ambassadors chose the longest way, as they followed in the whole course the direction of the Nile; the Greek geographers reckon according to the shorter caravan route, which leaves the Nile, and strikes across the desert of Bahiuda. The celebrated British traveller went by a still shorter way from Meroë to Syene, as he ventured to pass directly across the great Nubian desert: the same route that Burkhardt took upon his return.

From the foregoing statements taken together, we may safely draw the following conclusions:

First: that the ancient island of Meroë is the present province of Atbar, between the river of the same name, or the Tacazze, on the right, and the white stream and Nile on the left. The point where the island begins is at the junction of the Tacazze and the Nile; in the south it is enclosed by a branch of the abovementioned river, the Waldubba, and a branch of the Nile, the Bahad, whose sources are nearly in the same district, although they flow in different directions[g]. It lies between 13° and 18° N. lat. In recent times it has formed a great part of the kingdom of Sennaar, and the southern part belongs to Abyssinia.

[g] See the large map of Bruce; where will be found all the small streams and their branches, whose names are not given in our maps.

Secondly: Meroë was therefore an extensive district, surrounded by rivers, whose superficial contents exceeded those of Sicily rather more than one half. It cannot be called an island in the strict sense of the word, because, although it is very nearly, it is not completely enclosed by rivers; but it was took for an island of the Nile, because, as Pliny expressly observes, the various rivers which flow round it were all considered as branches of that stream[h]. It becomes, moreover, as we are told by Bruce, a complete island in the rainy season, in consequence of the overflowing of the rivers.

Thirdly: upon this island stood the city of the same name. It is impossible from the statements of Herodotus to determine precisely its site. Fortunately other writers give us more assistance. According to Eratosthenes[i] it lay seven hundred stadia (about eighty English miles) above the junction of the Tacazze or Astaboras, and the Nile. Pliny, following the statements of those whom Nero had sent to explore it, reckons seventy *milliaria* (sixty-three English miles); and adds the important fact, that near it, in the river on the right side, going up stream, is the small island Tadu, which serves the city as a port[k]. From this it may be concluded with certainty, that

[h] PLINY, v, 9. Herodotus is here again the only ancient writer who speaks determinately. He mentions only the city of Meroë, without calling the country in which it lay an island.

[i] STRABO, p. 1134.

[k] PLINY, vi, cap. 29.

the city of Meroë was not on the Tacazze, as might otherwise be conjectured from the names of those rivers being so unsettled, but on the proper Nile; and its situation, notwithstanding the little difference between Pliny and Eratosthenes, may be determined with the nicest accuracy, by the small island just mentioned, which Bruce has not omitted to note upon his map.

The ancient city of Meroë stood a little below the present Shendy, under 17° N. lat. 5½° E. long. Bruce saw its ruins at a distance, and only ventured to conjecture what I, from the testimony of the ancients, think I have completely proved. Every one of my readers will certainly read here with pleasure what that remarkable traveller says: I give it in his own words[1]. "On the 20th of October, in the evening," says he, "we left Shendy, and rested two miles from the town, and about a mile from the river; and next day, the 21st, we continued our journey; at nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island, in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees, and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all

[1] Bruce, iv, p. 541.

plainly designed for the statues of the dog; some pieces of obelisk, likewise with hieroglyphics, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive; and that many pieces of statues, both of men and animals, had been dug up there. The statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess, he adds, that this is the ancient city Meroë."

What Bruce and Burkhardt[m] only saw at a distance and hastily, has now been carefully examined by later travellers, and placed before our eyes by their drawings. These inquiries have however shown, that the antiquities of Meroë are not confined to a single spot, but are found in many places. The whole strip of land from Shendy to Gherri teems with them, and must be considered as classic ground. On the north of the island we also find a group, those of mount Berkal, which we may securely affirm to have belonged to Meroë. I will return to these by and by, and for the present direct my attention to those in the island of Meroë itself.

So far as our present information extends, these may be included under three principal groups; with the names of Assur, Naga, and

[m] Burkhardt himself gives us a reason why he examined so few antiquities, p. 275. As he travelled under the character of a poor merchant, he could not leave the caravan any distance without exciting suspicion. "Had even the stately Thebes lain close at hand, I could not have stopped to examine it." He did not go beyond Shendy; and therefore could not have seen the monuments south of that place.

Messura. That of Assur[n] lies a little to the north of Shendy, about two miles from the Nile; the two others run southward, more towards the desert, and are at some leagues' distance from the Nile. The monuments still found consist of temples and pyramids; all private dwellings have been long ago destroyed. According to Strabo[o] they were only built of split palm-trees and tiles; the earth however, is, in many parts, so covered with bricks, that a city must formerly have stood here. The site of the ancient Meroë, after the above statements, can no longer be doubtful, even if there were no remains to confirm them. It stood near the present Assur, about twenty miles north of the present Shendy, exactly under 17° N. lat. The site of the ancient city, which lay on the Nile between the present villages of Assur and Tenetbey, is still discovered by the remains of a few temples, and of many other edifices of sandstone. The whole extent amounts according to Caillaud to nearly four thousand feet[p]. The plain allowed sufficient room for a much larger city.

But if the habitations of the living are destroyed, those of the dead still remain. To

[n] The name of Assur is only found in Caillaud. In Bruce and Burkhardt this district is called Djebail, from the mountains. Assur is the name of a village on the Nile; in the neighbourhood of which are the villages of Danqueil and Tenetbey.

[o] Strabo, p. 1177.

[p] One thousand three hundred mètres, that is the extent of the ruins still remaining. That the city must have been larger cannot be doubted.

the east of Assur is the great church-yard of pyramids—I cannot more appropriately denote them,—which likewise proves that a considerable city was in its neighbourhood. It is impossible to behold the number of these monuments without astonishment, eighty are mentioned in the plan of Caillaud[q]; but the number cannot be well ascertained, as the ruins of many are doubtful. They are divided into three groups, one due east from the city; the two others a league from the river, one north and the other south. The most northern one is the largest and best preserved. They certainly appear small in comparison with the monuments of a similar kind in middle Egypt, the height of the largest not being more than eighty feet[r]; but they are more wonderful from their number. They are built of granite like the Egyptian, but do not seem so massive in the interior. The highest of them was ascended, and, as its top was thrown off, the interior seemed nothing beyond a heap of shapeless masses. As no one, however, examined the interior, it might be premature to decide anything respecting it. Most of the largest of them have a temple-like fore-building in the Egyptian style; a pylone and a door which leads into a portico, and this again through a sanctuary into the pyramid. It does not appear therefore that they desired here,

[q] Caillaud, plate xxxi. [r] Ibid. plate xlv.

as was the case in Egypt, to conceal the entrance, unless the real entrance was somewhere else. Until an interior has been examined, it will not be known whether sarcophagi and mummies are to be found within; I am not aware of any having been found beyond Egypt, south of Philæ and the cataracts. According to Strabo the Ethiopians did not embalm their dead, but buried them in a different manner; in earthen vessels, near the sanctuary[s]. The corners of the pyramids are partly ornamented; and the walls of the pylones are decorated with sculpture. That on the largest pyramid, drawn by Caillaud, represents an offering for the dead[t]. In one compartment a female warrior, with the royal ensigns on her head, and richly attired, drags forward a number of captives as offerings to the gods; upon the other she is in a warlike habit, about to destroy the same group, whose heads are fastened together by the top hair, as we shall see again upon the ruins of Naga. On a third relief in the sanctuary she is making an offering of frankincense to the goddess. Upon a fourth field appears Anubis, accompanied by the *Schakal*, the watchman of the lower world, with a burning light in the hand. This representation, together with the magnitude of the pyramid, renders it probable that it is the sepulchre of a king. That all pyramids

[s] Strabo, p. 1178. [t] Caillaud, plate xlvi.

here were not monuments of kings is evinced by their great number. Other grandees of the empire, especially priests of high rank, or such as had obtained the sacerdotal dignity, might have found in them their final resting place. In Ethiopia, and consequently in Meroë, the pyramid-architecture was native from the earliest ages. But if we compare this pyramid-architecture with the Egyptian, we shall see another proof of what has already been partly established; namely, that what had its rise in Ethiopia was perfected in Egypt, of which we shall still see farther proofs.

The statements of Caillaud have been confirmed by the narrative of Küppel of Frankfort[u], who likewise visited Meroë. His account extends beyond that of the French traveller, as he informs us of the existence of similar groups of pyramids in the land of Kurgos. "After having for some time been within sight of the ruins of Kurgos, which are also mentioned by Bruce, I was at last able to go and examine them under a guard. On the other side of the Nile my way lay for fifty-seven minutes across a plain of Nile slime or mud. Traces were visible of an ancient canal running parallel with the bed of the Nile, a proof that this territory was once highly cultivated. Ten minutes after I came to a great heap of hewn

[u] Writings by EDWARD KUPPEL, from the camp near Kurgos, 29th Feb. 1824, in *Europæische Blætter*, Oct. 1824, p. 131—134.

nd burnt stones. Time, however, had de-troyed every thing. With difficulty were some hafts of columns discovered, whose capitals vere ornamented with the heads of animals. Proofs of their once belonging to a temple."

"Twelve minutes farther a group of pyra-nidic mausolea. There were thirteen, all of iewn stone, forty feet high, without an en-rance. Near them was a lion's head in black granite; evidently a sitting sphinx. Thirty ninutes farther, eastward, a group, far more onsiderable than the former, of twenty-one ombs. Some were of the pyramid form with ndented borders; others had pointed angles, vith borders of plainer workmanship. One of hese monuments, the most southerly, differs rom all the others. A prismatic steeple stands ipon a socle twenty feet square. It has, like he rest, an eastern entrance, leading to the iall or gallery, as in the sepulchres of Meroë Assur). The walls are ornamented with eautiful sculpture; the reliefs like those t Meroë, but in greater perfection; they in-ariably represent the apotheosis of the dead. Among these pyramids there is one, as among hose at Meroë, peculiar on account of its ntrance. On both sides of this are two female igures, holding lances in their hands, and in he act of piercing with them a band of prison-rs. The drapery, grouping, and keeping of his surpasses every thing of the kind I have seen in Nubia and Egypt, not even excepting

the temple of Tentyris. They are free from the stiffness which is found in the Briareus of that place. These monuments, from their preservation, seem of later date than those of Meroë."

"A third group is met with five minutes south-east of the foregoing. It consists of nine pyramids, each with its entrance towards the east, the inner walls of which are covered with sculpture. The reliefs represent *apotheosis* of *female* figures only; while in all others they represent heroes, to whom offerings are brought. These southern sepulchres are also less than the others, the highest not being above forty feet. In the group of twenty-one pyramids there are some which measure ninety feet. All these monuments are built of hewn stone without mortar." Thus much beforehand of the German traveller's information, whose more extensive and accurate narrative may be expected at his return.

The antiquities of Naga and Messura, to the south of Shendy, are of another kind; they are temples. The city of Meroë, however, was not without temples; two, a larger and smaller, are laid down in the plan of Caillaud; though neither of them seem to have been of any importance. The most recent traveller has ascertained, that the larger temples were not in the city, but at a few miles' distance.

The monuments of Naga, or Naka, lie about six leagues south-east of Shendy, and about

the same distance east of the Nile[x]. They consist of numerous temples, of which a larger one lies in the centre, and various smaller ones are scattered around in every direction. The ruins show that a considerable city at one time stood here.—The remains of the principal temple clearly prove to what god it was dedicated. An avenue of statues, rams couchant, on pedestals, leads into an open portico of ten columns, out of which, after passing through a second similar gallery, we arrive at the pylone. Adjoining this is a colonnade consisting of eight columns; then a hall, and through a third door is the sanctuary. The door, the pillars, and the walls of the sanctuary are of hewn stone; the rest of bricks, with a coating, upon which traces of painting are visible. The pylones and pillars are ornamented with sculpture, very highly finished. Those on the first pylone, on each side of the entrance, are particularly remarkable[y]. A king and queen (bearing the emblems of dominion), are kindly welcomed by the deities. The latter by Ammon with the ram's head, and the former by the same in human shape, but without any farther mark of distinction. Above, in the frieze, oblations are offered by both to the same deities; below, at the bottom, are handmaids with vessels, out of which they are pouring water. The building is in the Egyptian style; and of a vast size. The

[x] CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, plate xi—xxi.
[y] Ibid. plate xix, xx.

whole, from the first pylone to the end, is about eighty feet long. There is also something peculiar in the entrance. The duplicate gallery of rams before and after the portico, is not common elsewhere; and the plan of the whole seems to show that architecture had not yet attained to that perfection which it afterwards exhibits in the great temples of Egypt. —The western temple is less, but more richly embellished with sculpture. On the pylones the same scenes are again represented as we have already seen in the pyramids of Assur. A male warrior on one side, and a female warrior on the other, destroy a number of captives whom they have bound together by the hair[z]. They are king and queen, as they both have the emblem of dominion, the *ureus*, on the headdress; over each is a spread eagle, with a globe; both are magnificently dressed. The sculpture below contains a string of single captives with their hands tied behind them. The reliefs on the interior represent the sacrifice of prisoners to the gods. The upper row contains the five male deities, Ammon, with his followers; first, the god with the lion's head, and the ornament with the ram's horns; behind him Ammon himself; Re, the god of the sun; his son Phthæ; and then again Ammon with the ram's head. The under row contains the females in an equal number; first

[z] Caillaud, plate xiv. xvi.

Isis, who has already seized and holds fast the group of captives offered to her. The offerings are over the king followed by men, and under the queen by women*. The following subject is still more remarkable. It represents the same god, with the lion's head and the ram's horns on the headdress; but with a double head and four arms*. It is the only subject of this sort I am acquainted with among all the known sculptures from the sources of the Nile to its mouth. It is likewise the only one which can be considered as borrowed from the Indian theology. The king comes from one side, and the queen from the other, both with tablets in their hands, probably containing lists of their gifts and offerings.

It is evident, then, that these representations possess many peculiarities, and that they are not pure Egyptian. Certainly not, however, in respect to religious rites. There appears nothing here in the worship of Ammon, with his kindred and associate gods, essentially differing from that of Upper Egypt. The relief already mentioned, with the male and female deities, contains this family of gods almost complete. But the most remarkable difference appears in the persons offering. The queens appear with the kings; and not merely as presenting offerings, but as heroines and conquerors. Nothing of this kind has been yet

* CAILLAUD, plate xvii. * Ibid. plate xviii.

discovered in the Egyptian reliefs, either in Egypt or Nubia. It may, therefore, with certainty be concluded, that they are subjects peculiar to Ethiopia; i. e. such as relate to the ancient rulers, male and female, of Meroë, and are devoted to the preservation of *their* deeds. If we look into history, we shall there find some little help towards a general explanation. "Among the Ethiopians," says Strabo, speaking of Meroë, "the women are also armed[b]." We also know that they sometimes mounted the throne. Herodotus mentions a Nitocris among the ancient queens of Ethiopia, who ruled over Egypt[c]. Upon the relief already described, representing the conquest of Ethiopia by Sesostris, there is a queen with her sons, who appears before him as a captive[d]. A long succession of queens under the title of Candace must have reigned here[e]; and when at last the seat of empire was removed from Meroë to Napata, near mount Berkal, there was also there a queen who ruled under the title of Candace[f]. It is not therefore strange, but quite agreeable to Ethiopian usages, to see a queen in a warlike habit near her consort; although history has preserved nothing particular on the subject.

The perfection to which sculpture had been brought here is very striking. There is nothing

[b] Strabo, p. 1177.
[c] Herod. ii, 100.
[d] See above, p. 356.
[e] Plin. vi, 35.
[f] Strabo, p. 820. *Acts*, viii, 28.

superior to it on the Egyptian monuments; and in boldness of outline it seems almost to surpass them. "These colossal figures" (they are ten feet high), says Caillaud, "are remarkable for the richness of their drapery, and the character of the drawing; their feet and arms are stouter than the Egyptian: yet are they altogether in the Egyptian style[g]." Kuppel notices a similar perfection on the pyramids of Kurgos. Are we to suppose that Ethiopian artists became thus accomplished? Or do not these monuments rather belong to that brilliant period of the empire of Meroë (the eighth century before our era) when the dynasty of Tarhako and Sabako ruled over Upper Egypt, and to whom it would have been easy to send Egyptian artists to Meroë, to perpetuate their fame by their workmanship? Futurity may perhaps solve these problems[h].

The second station, now called *El Messura*, for a description and drawing of which we are indebted to Caillaud[i], is equally interesting. "In an extensive valley in the desert," says he, "eight hours' journey from Shendy to the south-east, and six leagues from the Nile, are very considerable ruins. They consist of eight small temples, all connected by galleries upon terraces. It is an immense building, formed by

[g] CAILLAUD, plate xvii. Explication.

[h] It is very remarkable, that here, in the neighbourhood of the most ancient monuments, is found a portico in the Greek style. CAILLAUD, plate xiii. Certainly a decided proof of the high antiquity of the others.

[i] In his letters in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. xvi, p. 128. For the engravings see plate xxii—xxx.

the joining together of a number of chambers, courts, temples and galleries; surrounded by a double enclosure. From the temple in the midst, the way to the others is through galleries, or terraces, one hundred and eighty-five feet in length. Each temple has its particular chambers. These buildings are placed in an exact order; and consist of eight temples, thirty-nine chambers, twenty-six courts, twelve flights of steps, etc. The ruins cover a plot of land two thousand five hundred feet in circumference."

"But in this immensity of ruins every thing is upon a smaller scale, the monuments as well as the materials employed. The largest temple is only thirty-four feet long; upon the pillars are figures in the Egyptian style; others in the same portico are fluted, like the Grecian; upon the basis of one I thought I discovered the remains of a zodiac. Time and the elements, which have destroyed the ancient Saba, seem to have been willing to spare us the observatory of Meroë; but until the rubbish be cleared away, a complete plan of it cannot be expected. It excites our wonder to find so few hieroglyphics in all these ruins; the six pillars which form the portico of the middle temple are the only ones containing any, all the other walls are without sculpture."

"Some hundred paces from the ruins are the remains of two other small temples; and the traces of a great reservoir of water, surrounded by little hills, which protect it from

the sand. There is here, however, no trace of a city; no heap of rubbish; no sepulchre. If the city of Meroë had stood here, the pyramids would not have been built two days' journey off. I believe that the public offices of Meroë were situated here; the form and the architecture prove it. The city was in the neighbourhood of the sepulchres, where the pyramids are."

So far M. Caillaud. I wish circumstances would permit me to lay the ground-plan of it in full before the reader[k]; yet I hope the accompanying small plan will give an idea of the whole[l]. It forms an outline of the whole enclosure. In the centre is the principal temple; on the different sides are the inferior temples; if they are not rather other buildings. The many corridors, chambers, and courts, cannot now be altogether completely restored. The two inferior temples, with the reservoir, lie at some distance from the enclosure.

May I be allowed to express my opinion freely and openly? IT IS THE ANCIENT ORACLE OF JUPITER AMMON. A mere glance at the ground-plan leads to this idea. It is only thus that the singularity of the foundation can be accounted for; of that labyrinth of passages and courts which must be wandered

[k] CAILLAUD, table xxii.

[l] See the ground plan. The labyrinth of Egypt comes, almost involuntarily, into the mind upon viewing it. Who can at present determine, whether there are not also here subterraneous apartments.

through, before arriving at the entirely secret temple in the midst. Scarcely could there be a better introduction contrived for reaching the sanctuary.

But we need not rest upon mere conjecture. A passage of Diodorus settles more accurately the site of the ancient temple, and strikingly confirms the above notion. It informs us that this temple did not stand in the city of Meroë, but at some distance from it in the desert, as it is here situated. When, in the period of the Ptolemeys (as will be shown hereafter), the then ruler of Meroë overthrew the dominion of the priests, he went with an armed company to the retired spot, where the sanctuary with the golden temple stood, surprised the priests, and killed them[m]. Can clearer proofs be required,—situation, building, and locality all agree?

The smallness of the principal temple is not surprising, the same thing has been observed at Ammonium in the Libyan desert[n]. It was pro-

[m] See DIODORUS, i, p. 178. Ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῆλθε μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄβατον, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν χρυσοῦν ναὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων. And in STRABO, p. 1178, ἐπιὼν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὅπου ὁ χρυσοῦς νεώς ἐστι.—But what is said here: In the sanctuary where the golden temple is found? If the reading be correct, a small portable temple must be meant, which belonged to the sacred vessels. I scarcely, however, have a doubt but that we should read ναυς instead of ναος, as found in Diodorus; and the same in Strabo; and then translate it *the golden ship*. It will be shown hereafter that this could not fail to be in all the oracle temples of Ammon. As this corrupt reading might very easily have crept in, it very probably existed in the common source into which both these writers dipped.

[n] See above, p. 213.

bably a place merely for the preservation of the sacred ship, which stood between the pillars of the sanctuary.

Its situation in the desert also follows the example already adduced, and will appear still less extraordinary when it is shown, that one of the great trading routes runs just by it.

As the principal temple was so small, the others, which are called temples, may merely be considered as chapels: it remains very uncertain for what use they were destined. Hence, Caillaud very properly designates them, in the explanations to his plates, "*constructions*." The separate members were small, but the whole was great.

The rarity of sculpture and hieroglyphics is very remarkable; no trace of that Egyptian art has been discovered here. The few figures on the pillars, now scarcely legible, have nothing in common with it. One of them has evidently the hair done up in the broad Nubian fashion[o].

In what relation the foundations of Messura stood to those of Naga we can only conjecture. If Messura was the oracle-temple, then that body of the priesthood who had the care of the oracle would naturally reside here. The number of these in proportion to the whole order could be but small, perhaps only the highest class of ministers. On the other hand, I feel inclined to consider Naga as the proper me-

[o] CAILLAUD, plate XXX.

tropolis of the caste. Here stood a number of temples, not only dedicated to Ammon, but to the kindred gods[p]; here are found the remains of a city that would afford convenient dwellings to the priesthood, no traces of which are found in Messura.

Thus we stand on that remarkable spot which antiquity frequently regarded as the cradle of the arts and sciences; where hieroglyphic writing was discovered; where temples and pyramids had already sprung up, while Egypt still remained ignorant of their existence. Who then can avoid asking: what was here formerly? what took place here?

Although it is impossible to answer these questions so completely as the reader might wish, yet there are many circumstances which supply materials towards it. Let us select from them such as may be regarded as certain facts; and then add those that are more or less probable.

It stands as an incontrovertible fact, that besides the pastoral and hunting tribes, which led a nomad life to the west of the Nile, and still more to the east, as far as the Arabian gulf, there existed a cultivated people near this stream, in the valley through which it flows, who had fixed abodes, built cities, temples, and sepulchres, and whose remains, even now, after

[p] Herodotus mentions that to Dionysos, or Osiris; STRABO, l.c. Hercules, or Pan.

the lapse of so many centuries, still excite our astonishment.

It may farther be stated, as a certainty, that the civilization of this people was, in an especial manner, connected with their religion: that is with the worship of certain deities. The remains of their foundation prove this too clearly for any doubt to be entertained on the subject.

This religion, upon the whole, is not uncertain. It was the worship of Ammon, and his kindred gods. The circle of these deities was very nearly of the same extent as that of Olympus among the Greeks; it might, possibly, be somewhat larger. It became enlarged by the appearance of the same deity, in different relations, and consequently with changed attributes, especially with different head-ornaments, and also under various forms. But the rites of Ammon so much prevail, that his emblem, the ram's horns, are seen every where; and it seldom happens but that the kindred deities exhibit, in some part or other, something which refers to him.

Without digressing into a detailed description of particular deities, which I leave to mythologists, I think I may yet venture a step farther without fear of contradiction, and assert that this worship had its origin in natural religion connected with agriculture. The great works of nature were revered, accordingly as they promoted, or retarded and hindered this. It seems natural that the sun and

moon, so far as they determined the seasons and the year, the Nile and the earth as sources of fruitfulness, the sandy deserts as the opposers of it, should be personified; one thing is remarkable, namely, that of all the representations of Nubia yet known, there is not one, which, according to our notions, is offensive to decency.

But this worship had besides, as we know with certainty, a second element: oracles. Ammon was the original oracle god of Africa; if afterwards, as was the case in Egypt, other deities delivered oracles, yet they were of his race, of his kindred. Even beyond Egypt we hear of the oracles of Ammon. "The only gods worshipped in Meroë," says Herodotus[q], "are Zeus and Dionysos (which he himself explains to be Ammon and Osiris). They also have an oracle of Ammon, and undertake their expeditions when and how the god commands." How these oracles were delivered we learn partly from history, partly from representations on the monuments. In the sanctuary stands a ship. Upon it many holy vessels; but, above all, in the midst a portable tabernacle, surrounded with curtains, which may be drawn back. In this is an image of the god, set, according to Diodorus, in precious stones[r]; nevertheless, according to one account, it could have no human shape[s]. The ship in the great

[q] Herod. ii, 29. [r] Diodorus, ii, 199.

[s] Curtius, iv, 7, *umbilico similis*. I doubt this statement, not only as

emples seems to have been very magnificent; Sesostris presented one to the temple of Amnon at Thebes, made of cedar, the inside of ilver, and the outside of gold[t]. The same was ung about with silver goblets[u]. When the racle was to be consulted, it was carried round by a body of priests in procession, and rom certain movements, either of the god or of he ship, both of which the priests had well nder their command, the omens were gathered, according to which the high-priest then elivered the oracle[x]. This ship is often represented, both upon the Nubian and Egyptian monuments, sometimes standing still, and ometimes carried in procession; but never anywhere except in the innermost sanctuary, which was its resting-place. Upon the Nubian monuments hitherto made known, we discover this n two places; at Asseboa and Derar, and on each twice. Those of Asseboa are both standng. In one the tabernacle is veiled, but upon he other it is without a curtain[y]; Ammon appears in the same, sitting on a couch; before im an altar with gifts[z]. Upon one the king is kneeling before the ship at his devotions, in

ccount of the passage just quoted from Diodorus, but because we see on ne of the common monuments a complete portrait of Ammon.

[t] Diodorus, i, 67.

[u] So in Ammonium; Curtius, l. c.

[x] Compare especially the account of Alexander's visit to Ammonium, in Diodorus, ii, 199, and Curtius, l. c.

[y] Gau, plate xlv, B. In this the relief is represented as coloured.

[z] Gau, plate xlv, A. Ammon appears here with the ram's head.

the other he is coming towards it with an offering of frankincense (is it in order to consult the oracle?). In the sanctuary of the rock-monument at Derar we also discover it twice. Once in procession, borne by a number of priests[a]; the tabernacle is veiled, the king meets it, bringing frankincense; the other time at rest[b]. These processions are not only seen upon the great Egyptian temples at Philæ, Elephantis, and Thebes, but also upon the great Oasis[c]. *The sacred ship was therefore the oracle ship;* and wherever we discover it we may conclude that an oracle of Ammon was, or should be there.—But it is naturally asked, how came this idea of ships? The answer seems almost as naturally to present itself. For as we have already seen, and shall still farther see, how the worship of Ammon spread along the Nile by the foundation of temples and colonies, can we in these ships and these processions see any thing plainer than the *allegorical propagation of this worship in this* manner? Does not this explain the representation both as a whole and in detail? Does not this explain also the frequent repetition, as this propagation happened according to the prescription of the oracle, and was regarded as a sacred duty?

These oracles were certainly the main support of this religion; and, if we connect with

[a] Gau, plate li. C. [b] Ibid. plate lii.
[c] *Description d'Egypte*, plate xiii, xxxvii, lxix.

them the local features of the country, it will at once throw a strong light upon its origin. Fertility is here, as well as in Egypt, confined to the borders of the Nile. At a very short distance from it the desert begins. How could it then be otherwise than that crowds of men should congregate on the borders of the stream where the dhourra, almost the only corn here cultivated, would grow. And if they could satisfy their first cravings with the produce of this scanty space, was not the rise of a natural religion, referring to it, just what might be expected? Add to all this, however, another circumstance highly important. Meroë was besides, as will be proved in the following chapter, the chief mart for the trade of these regions. It was the grand emporium of the caravan trade between Ethiopia, the north of Africa, and Egypt, as well as of Arabia Felix, and even India. But before proceeding to these circumstances, let us take an accurate survey of the express and authentic information given us by the ancients respecting the history and condition of Meroë.

Meroë, according to their account, was a city which had its settled constitution and laws, its ruler and government. But the form of this state was one which we too often find among the kingdoms of these southern regions; it was a hierarchy; the government was in the hands of a race or caste of priests, who chose from among themselves a king. I shall trans-

late here Diodorus's account of them, which is the most extensive and accurate that we have.

"The laws of the Ethiopians[d]," he says, differ in many respects from those of other nations, but in none so much as in the election of their kings; which is thus managed. The priests select the most distinguished of their own order, and upon whichever of these the god (Jupiter Ammon) fixes, as he is carried in procession, he is acknowledged king by the people; who then fall down and adore him as a god, because he is placed over the government by the choice of the gods. The person thus selected immediately enjoys all the prerogatives, which are conceded to him by the laws, in respect to his mode of life; but he can neither reward or punish any one, beyond what the usages of their forefathers and the laws allow. It is a custom among them to inflict upon no subject the sentence of death, even though he should be legally condemned to that punishment; but they send to the malefactor one of the servants of justice, who bears the symbol of death. When the criminal sees this he goes immediately to his own house and deprives himself of life. The Greek custom of escaping punishment by flight into a neighbouring country is not there permitted. It is said that the mother of one who would have attempted this, strangled him with her own girdle, in order to save her

[d] Diodorus, i, p. 177, etc. He is speaking of Meroe.

family from that greater ignominy. But the most remarkable of all their institutions is that which relates to the death of the king. The priests at Meroë, for example, who attend to the service of the gods, and hold the highest ranks, send a messenger to the king, with an order to die. They make known to him that the gods command this, and that mortals should not withdraw from their decrees; and perhaps added such reasons as could not be controverted by weak understandings, prejudiced by custom, and unable to oppose any thing thereto."

The government continued in this original state till the period of the second Ptolemey, and its catastrophe is not less remarkable than its formation. By its increased intercourse with Egypt, the light of Grecian philosophy penetrated into Ethiopia. Ergamenes, at that time king, tired of being priest-ridden, fell upon the priests in their sanctuary, put them to death, and became effectually a sovereign[e]. A consequence of Greek illumination—or rather of the lust of power in kings—which could hardly be expected in this distant region.

Of the history of this state previous to the revolution just mentioned, but very scanty information has been preserved; but yet enough to show its high antiquity and its early aggrandizement. Pliny[f] tells us, "that Ethiopia was

[e] Diodorus, i, p. 178. [f] Plinius, vi, 35.

ruined by its wars with Egypt, which it sometimes subdued and sometimes served; it was powerful and illustrious even as far back as the Trojan war, when Memnon reigned. At the time of his sovereignty," he continues, "Meroë is said to have contained two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, and four hundred thousand artificers (artifices). They still reckon there forty-five kings." Though these accounts lose themselves in the darkness of tradition, yet we may, by tracing history upwards, discover some certain chronological data. In the Persian period Meroë was certainly free and independent, and an important state; otherwise Cambyses would hardly have made such great preparations for his unfortunate expedition[g]. During the last dynasty of the Pharaohs at Sais, under Psammetichus and his successors, the kingdom of Meroë not only resisted his yoke, although his son Psammis undertook an expedition against Ethiopia, but we have an important fact, which gives us a clew to the extent of the empire at that time towards the south; the emigration of the Egyptian warrior caste. These migrated towards Meroë, whose ruler assigned them dwellings about the sources of the Nile, in the province of Gojam (as I shall hereafter show), whose restless inhabit-

[g] Herod. ii, 25. The statements of Strabo, 1139, etc. according to which Cambyses reached Meroë, may perhaps be brought to accord with those of Herodotus, if we understand him to mean northern Meroë, near mount Berkal.

nts were expelled their country[h]. The domi-
ions of the ruler of Meroë therefore certainly
eached so far at that time, though his autho-
ity on the borders fluctuated, in consequence
f the pastoral hordes roving thereabout, and
ould only be fixed by colonies. Let us go a
entury farther back, between 800 and 700
3. C., and we shall mount to the flourishing
eriod of this empire, contemporary with the
ivided kingdoms of Israel and Judah; espe-
ially with the reign of Hezekiah, and the time
f Isaiah, 750, 700, where we shall conse-
uently have a light from the Jewish annals
nd the oracles of the prophets, in connection
ith Herodotus[i]. This is the period in which
ie three mighty rulers, Sabaco, Seuechus,
nd Tarhaco, started up as conquerors, and
irected their weapons against Egypt, which,
t least Upper Egypt, became an easy prey,
om the unfortunate troubles preceding the
odecarchy having just taken place. According
o Eusebius[k] Sabaco reigned twelve, Seuechus
lso twelve, and Tarhaco twenty years: but by
erodotus, who only mentions Sabaco, to whom

[h] HEROD. ii, 30.

[i] GESENIUS, on ISAIAH, xix, 1, proposes to remove the difficulties which
ise between the Egyptian and Jewish chronology, by making the reign
Pharaoh Necho forty-six years instead of sixteen, by which the period of
sammetichus and the dodecarchy would be carried so much farther back.
Ve may hope that the new deciphering of the Egyptian monuments will
row some light upon this subject; but, at all events, the flourishing
eriod of Meroë must be placed between 800 and 700.

[k] *Chronic.* tom. ii, 181; cf. MARSHAM's *Chronicon*, p. 435.

he gives a reign of fifty years, this name seems to designate the whole dynasty, which not unfrequently follows that of its founder. Herodotus expressly says that he had quitted Egypt at the command of his oracle in Ethiopia[l]. It may therefore be seen by the example of this conqueror, how great their dependence must have been in their native country upon the oracle of Ammon; when even the absent, as ruler of a conquered state, yielded obedience to it. Sabaco, however, is not represented by him as a barbarian or tyrant, but as a benefactor to the community by the construction of dams. The chronology of Seuechus and Tarhaco is determined by the Jewish history. Seuechus was the contemporary of Hoshea king of Israel, whose reign ended in 722, and of Salmanassar[m]. Tarhaco was the contemporary of his successor Sennacherib, and deterred him in the year 714 B. C., from the invasion of Egypt, merely by the rumour of his advance against him[n]. His name, however, does not seem to have been unknown to the Greeks. Eratosthenes, in Strabo[o], mentions him as a

[l] HEROD. ii, 137—139.

[m] 2 KINGS, xvii, 4. He is called *So* in our translation, but the name may also be read *Seven*. See Michaelis. He is also mentioned here as king of Egypt. [See DR. GILL'S *Comment.* on the verse referred to. There can be little doubt that Seuechus is the So (the Sua), to whom Hoshea sent an embassy, 2 KINGS, xix, 9. Tarhaco is without doubt the Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, who came out to fight against Sennacherib. *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii, p. 154. *Translator.*]

[n] 2 KINGS, xix, 9. [See the note on the seventh verse of the same chapter in MANT'S Bible. *Translator.*]

[o] STRABO, p. 1007.

nqueror who had penetrated into Europe, and far as the Pillars of Hercules—that is as a eat conqueror. Certainly, therefore, the king-m of Meroë must have ranked about this time an important state. And we shall find this to the case if we go about two hundred years rther back, to the time of Asa, the great-grand-n of Solomon, but who, nevertheless, mounted e throne of Judah within twenty years after s grandsire's death, 955. Against him, it is id in the Jewish annals, went out Zerah the thiopian, with an host of a thousand thousand en and three hundred chariots[p]. Although is number signifies nothing more than a ighty army, it yet affords a proof of the mighti-ss of the empire, which at that time probably mprised Arabia Felix; but the chariots of ar, which never were in use in Arabia, prove at the passage refers to Ethiopia. Zerah's pedition took place in the early part of Asa's ign, consequently about nine hundred and ty years before Christ; and as such an em-re could not be quite a new one, we are l by undoubted historical statements up to e period of Solomon, about 1000, B. C.; d as this comes near to the Trojan period, iny's statements, though only resting on

[p] 2 CHRON. xiv, 9. See the remarks of Michaelis. He translates it *hite*, which appellation comprises both the inhabitants of Arabia Felix Ethiopia, remarking expressly, however, by comparing 2 CHRON. xvi, hat he must have been king of Ethiopia; and probably of Arabia Felix vell. [See also GILL's Commentary on the same passage.]

mythi, obtain historical weight. Farther back than this the annals of history are silent; but the monuments now begin to speak, and confirm that high antiquity, which general opinion and the traditions of Meroë attribute to this state. The name of Ramasses, or Sesostris, has already been found upon many of the Nubian monuments; and that he was the conqueror of Ethiopia is known from history[q]. The period in which he flourished, cannot be placed later than fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. But the name of Thutmosis, belonging to the preceding dynasty, has also been found in Nubia[r], and that assuredly upon one of the most ancient monuments of Armada. But in this sculpture, as well as in the procession, representing the victory over Ethiopia in the offering of the booty, there appears a degree of civilization, which shows an acquaintance with the peaceful arts; they must consequently be attributed to a nation that had long been formed. We thus approach the Mosaic period, in which the Jewish traditions ascribe the conquest of Meroë to no less a person than Moses himself[s]. The traditions of the Egyptian priesthood also

[q] Herod. ii, 110; Strabo, 1140. That the Pharaohs should have carried their conquests into Ethiopia, could in no period seem less strange than in ours, in which the same scene has been acted. Scarcely was the present ruler of Egypt firmly possessed of that kingdom, than his son Ismael Pasha undertook the same conquest, and not only penetrated to Meroë, but even at one time as far as *Singue*, 10° N. lat.

[r] See above, p. 363.

[s] See the half Roman account of his expedition against Meroë, in Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* ii, 10.

agree in this, that Meroë in Ethiopia laid the foundation of the most ancient states of Egypt. Who can expect here more critical certainty than this? History itself, however, has carried us back to those ages in which the formation of the most ancient states took place, and has thus far shown that Meroë was one of them.

In a state whose government differed so widely from any thing that we have been accustomed to, it is reasonable to suppose that the same would happen with regard to the people or subjects. We cannot expect a picture here that will bear any similitude to the civilized nations of Europe. Meroë rather resembled in appearance the larger states of interior Africa at the present day; a number of small nations, of the most opposite habits and manners, some with, and some without, settled abodes, form there what is called an empire; although the general political band which holds them together appears loose, and is often scarcely perceptible[1]. In Meroë this band was of a twofold nature; religion, that is a certain worship, principally resting upon oracles and commerce: unquestionably the strongest chains by which barbarians could be fettered, except forcible subjugation. The rites of that religion, connected with oracles, satisfied the curious and superstitious, as did trade the cravings of their sensual appetites. Eratosthenes has

[1] See the description of the empire of Bornou, in the *Proceedings of the African Association*, p. 189, etc.

handed us down an accurate picture of the inhabitants of Meroë in his time[w]. According to his account the island comprised a variety of people, of whom some followed agriculture, some a nomad, pastoral life, and others hunting: all of them choosing that which was best adapted to the district in which they lived.

The nomad tribes dwelling to the north of Meroë in Nubia, were no longer subject to that state[x]. The dominion over roving hordes, however, can seldom have fixed boundaries, and it would be rash to apply what Eratosthenes says of his times to all the preceding centuries, while, on the other hand, we learn from the monuments, that the rulers of Meroë, lived in almost continual warfare with these nomad tribes. To the west, Meroë was bounded by sandy deserts which separated it from Darfour, unknown in antiquity; and to the east, it had for neighbours in the mountains, the rude Shangallas, the Troglodytes, or the race of Bischaries, at about ten or eleven days' journey distant from the city of Meroë[y]. These do not appear to have been subjects of Meroë, as they, according to what is stated above, had their own kings or chiefs.

To the south of Meroë, on the other hand, was a province, which, by an extraordinary circumstance, came into the possession of a very

[w] Strabo, p. 1177.

[x] This is expressly stated by Eratosthenes in Strabo, p. 1194.

[y] Eratosthenes, ap. Strabo, l. c. p. 1134.

numerous race of Egyptian colonists. At the time Psammetichus obtained, by the aid of foreign mercenaries, the sole government in Egypt, the numerous Egyptian warrior-caste rebelled against him; they had indeed already in the foregoing troubles, when the priest-caste played for the mastery, and in fact for a long time played a winning game, been deeply injured. These Egyptian warriors,—who might be called, as belonging to the highest rank in the nation, the Egyptian nobility, if false notions of a subordinate nature did not too easily attach themselves to that appellation,—these Egyptian warriors, I say, chose rather to leave the land of their birth, than comply with the new order of things, which began with Psammetichus's reign in Egypt. The king in vain attempted to restrain them, they derided his attempt, and left the country, two hundred and forty thousand men in number. This took place about six hundred and fifty years before Christ. They emigrated into Ethiopia, and obtained a new settlement from the king of Meroë. He willingly received them, and appointed them a province, whose inhabitants having been lately rebellious were expelled, in order to make way for these new comers. This land, according to the best authority, was the present Gojam, an island formed by a deep curve of the Nile, which it makes immediately after its rise, and then returns, almost in a complete circle, nearly back to its sources.

Here this numerous Egyptian colony settled, and formed a separate state dependent upon Meroë, but governed by its own subordinate kings, or rather, at least at a later period, by its queens. They introduced, according to Herodotus, civilization among the Ethiopian tribes dwelling in these regions; and built cities, the most considerable of which was Sembobytis; there was also another called Esar. This state, which lasted for many centuries, extended itself on the east as far as the mountains, and very clear traces of it are visible in the histories of these countries at later periods[z].

The state of Meroë, therefore, comprised a number of very different races or tribes, united together by one common form of worship, which was in the hands of the priesthood, the most cultivated, and consequently the dominant caste. But a question remains unanswered, which has probably before this occurred to my readers: namely, to what nation belonged this ruling priest-caste? Were they natives of the country, or did they emigrate into it? The origin and descent of this race it is impossible to prove by express historical evidence. The peopling of these distant re-

[z] I must beseech the reader to accept these remarks as the results of a careful historical research, which on another occasion I have laid before the public in its full extent with the proofs. *Commentat. Societ. Scient. Goetting.* tom. xii, p. 48, etc. The passages of the ancients which I have principally quoted are HEROD. ii, 30; PLINY, vi, 29, 30; and STRABO, p. 1134. See † *Historical Works*, iii, p. 323.

gions, and many of the early emigrations, occurred so long before the period of legitimate history, that more than conjecture cannot be here expected. We know, however, that they did not consider themselves as a race who had emigrated into the land, but as a primitive aboriginal people, and the same belief prevailed among the Egyptian priest-caste[a]. Nothing more can be determined respecting them from historic evidence. What therefore now remains to be done, is to examine whether the information we have respecting this race will warrant us to consider them as having emigrated into this region? and whether we can discover in the tribes still existing there the descendants of that race? Our knowledge of it can only be derived from the monuments it has left behind; but from these innumerable pictures we are placed in a situation of judging of its external character. In these we always discover the same formation of countenance, the same shape[b], the same colour, and although with many variations, yet, upon the whole, the same rich costume. The countenance has nothing at all of the negro variety, it is a handsome profile, the body is tall and slender, the hair straight or curled, the colour a reddish brown. That the colour in the painted reliefs

[a] Diodorus, i, p. 174.

[b] Only among the few figures in the rock-sepulchres are they somewhat different, but these in general betray the infancy of the art.

was certainly that of the people represented, no one can entertain a doubt who has seen Belzoni's plates of the royal sepulchre, which has been opened[c]. I would not, however, be understood to mean that the colour in nature was exactly the same; the artists in this respect were constrained by their materials; but I maintain with confidence that this race was neither fair nor dark, but of a brown colour between the two. I believe I recognise them in the Nubian race. Though the colour, by frequent intermixture with female negro slaves, is become something darker, yet the same shape, the same profile, and the same moral characteristics are still to be found, as far as this can possibly be expected, in their present degenerate state[d]. They were once, according to Strabo, a mighty nation, spreading on both sides of the Nile[e]. They are now pressed back into its valley, scarcely more than the ruins of a nation; but man has still been unable altogether to suppress them. Their ancient civilization was knit to their religion, and naturally declined with it; intermixture with foreigners, wars, and oppressions, did the rest: what then can be expected beyond a faint shadow of what they once were[f]? But whoever

[c] See above, p. 395.

[d] Compare what is said above, p. 309, upon the accounts imparted by Burkhardt and others.

[e] Strabo, p. 1134, 1135.

[f] And yet, remarkable as it may appear, the remains of a hierarchy still exists in those regions; it seems then occasioned by something

will take the trouble to compare the descriptions and representations of them given by modern travellers, with those upon the

n the locality. We read in BURKHARDT's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 236, etc. of a priestly establishment at Damer, a town of five hundred houses seated on the south shore of the Tacazze or Mogrew, just before its junction with the Nile, consequently in the isle of Meroë. In this small but ndependent state the authority is in the hands of a high pontiff, called *El Faky el Kebir*, who is their real chief and oracle-giver. The office is hereditary in one family. The Faky el Kebir (or great Faky) leads the life of a hermit, shut up in his chamber all the morning till about three o'clock in the afternoon, after which he transacts business till long after sunset. He occupies a small building, one part of which is a chapel, and the other a room about twelve feet square, in which he constantly resides day and night. He is a venerable looking figure, clothed in a long white cloak. There are many fakys under him of various rank, who enjoy more or less a reputation for sanctity. At Damer are several schools, to which young men repair from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan, and other parts of Soudan, in order to acquire a proficiency in the law, and in the reading of the Koran. The schools are in an open place adjoining the great mosque. Imagine instead of this a temple dedicated to Ammon, and instead of the Koran and law, the books of Hermes and the priest-ritual, and there will be but little difficulty in believing it one of the ancient priestly establishments. "The affairs of this little hierarchical state," continues Burkhardt, "appear to be conducted with great prudence. All its neighbours testify much respect for the fakys; the treacherous Bischarein even, are so completely kept in awe by them, that they have never been known to hurt any of the people of Damer, when travelling from thence across the mountains to Souakin. They particularly fear the power of the fakys to deprive them of rain, and thus to cause the death of their flocks. It is also a trading state. Caravans pass occasionally from Damer to Dongola, Shendy, Souakin, and the Arabian gulf; for many of the fakys are traders. Caravans generally make a short stay at this place, as the land is well cultivated, and common necessaries easily obtained. Two fakys accompanied the caravan as guards as far as the limits of the country of Shendy. The road is dangerous, and the inhabitants upon it robbers; but such is the fear entertained of the fakys of Damer, that the mere sight of them marching unarmed at the head of the caravan, was sufficient to inspire the country people with the greatest respect. It would require an armed force to pass here without the aid of some of these religious men." Could there be a better voucher for the truth of our picture of the ancient priest and trade state, and their rise and progress? It will now be easily understood how settlements of priests might influence the course of trade.

reliefs, will recognise the same shape, and the same countenance[g]. They even still carry the same weapons; the long, often two-edged spear, the great shield of hippopotamus-skin, with which they so often appear on the monuments, and by which even the prophet characterises them[h]; and if the splendour of their dress is exchanged for lighter habiliments, yet then the nature of the climate renders them ornaments rather than necessary clothing. All these distinguishing marks, I grant, are mere probabilities, and not founded upon historical evidence. It is not difficult to bring forward arguments against them. I shall however consider my views as just, until replaced by others more probable.

This question is naturally followed by another, to which various and contradictory answers have hitherto been given; though I venture to hope that what I have already said will go a great way towards setting it at rest. This question is, whether Ethiopia, and particularly Meroë, was the parent of civilization, which descended thence into Egypt; or whether civilization ascended the Nile from Egypt into Ethiopia? I should not think this, considering our present acquaintance with the monuments, and the helps history affords, a problem difficult to solve, if a prevailing mistake attending it be first laid aside. Man seems to wish to

[g] See them in LEGH and others. [h] JER. xlvi, 9.

lay the burden upon those who hold, as a matter of certainty, that the original point of civilization,—or, what is equally important, the worship of Ammon with its dependences—was at Meroë, and that it spread thence down the Nile into Egypt, and certainly, in the first place, to Upper Egypt, where it obtained in Thebes its full perfection; of proving by circumstances, since we know the monuments, how this happened as it were step by step. Such an expectation, however, not only stands in opposition to the monuments, as we have above explained them—but also to history. We have historical evidence that rulers of Meroë were, at certain periods, likewise rulers of Egypt, and at least of Upper Egypt; and, on the other hand, that many of the Pharaohs extended their dominion over Ethiopia. What, therefore, could be more natural than that countries should be mutually affected by being thus brought into close contact with each other; and, as the erection of monuments, temples, and their appurtenances, formed so essential a part of the rites of Ammon, that the Pharaohs, when they ruled over Ethiopia, should endeavour to perpetuate their memory there, as well as in Egypt, by the building of monuments? I think this already settled by the reliefs which decorate the walls of the Nubian temples; and that I have proved, as well by the high perfection of the art as by the

objects they represent, that they must be ascribed to the flourishing period of the dominion of the Pharaohs. And who would presume to deny that every one of these temples was not their work?

Those, therefore, who derive the civilization of Egypt from Ethiopia, and particularly from Meroë, will not go farther than to affirm, that the separate colonies of the priest-caste spread from Meroë into Egypt. This happened according to the oracle of Ammon. "They undertook their expeditions at the time and to the place appointed by the god[1]." The fact is too well known that the foundation of colonies in the ancient world generally took place under the authority of the oracles, for it to be necessary to stop here to prove it. But these oracles were under the guidance of a higher power, that of the high priests, or perhaps the kings, or both; consequently we may safely conclude that these settlements were not left to blind chance, but selected and appointed for particular objects. And this is confirmed by history and the monuments.

One of these settlements, the nearest to Meroë on the north, is only lately become

[1] HEROD. ii, 29. *Στρατεύονται* is his expression. The foundation of such colonies, in the midst of barbarous nations, would very likely be often attended with wars. But the warlike expeditions of a priestly state would naturally have for their object the spread of its worship, because without this no conquests could be preserved.

known to us. I speak of that near mount Berkal[k]. Here evidently stood a sort of second Meroë; indeed, even the very name obtained here, the village being still called Merawé. At this place are found the remains of two temples, dedicated to Osiris and Ammon. The larger, with an alley of sphinxes and all the sections of the great temples of Egypt, surpasses in extent and finishing those of the parent state[l]. The smaller, called by Caillaud a *Typhonium*[m], exhibits in its sanctuary Ammon with his whole train[n]. But, besides the name, another thing indubitably proves this place to have been a colony from Meroë; I mean the pyramidic buildings for the dead, with nearly the very same number of pyramids as at Assur, though of a larger size[o]. These are the only ones which are found between the island of Meroë and Egypt. The reliefs on the temples relate to the worship of Ammon. A hero, or king, is offering to him a number of captives on the pylone[p]. In the interior decorations, richer gifts of fruit, cattle, and other articles. In the front building of the pyramids Osiris, as king of the lower world, to whom likewise gifts are presented[q]. This place, at a later

[k] This mountain lies on the west bank of the Nile; the monument at its foot. This is now made known to us by the plates and ground-plan of CAILLAUD, plate xlix—lxxiv.

[l] CAILLAUD, plate lxiv—lxvi. [m] Ibid. plate lxvii.

[n] Ibid. plate lxxi.

[o] CAILLAUD, plate lvi, lvii. Also opposite, on the western bank of the Nile, near Nuri, is a group of pyramids. CAILLAUD, plate xlvii.

[p] CAILLAUD, plate lxi. [q] Ibid. plate liii, liv, lv.

period,—probably after the period of the Ptolemeys,—became the capital, which bore the name of Napata; and which as late as the time of Nero, when the Romans captured and destroyed it, was the residence of the queens who reigned here under the title of Candace[r].

Ammonium, in the Libyan desert, was, according to the express testimony of Herodotus[s], another of these colonies, which, as we have already shown, did not consist merely of a temple and oracle, but rather formed a small state where the priest-caste was, as at Meroë, the ruling body, and chose a king from among themselves. And, certainly, according to his account, this colony was founded in common from Thebes and Meroë. A very remarkable fact, which not only proves the foundation of such colonies, and the objects for which they were intended, but also places beyond a doubt the continuance of a connection and a common interest between Meroë and Thebes.

The kingly Thebes itself was a third, and by far the most important settlement of this priest-caste; it formed a sort of central point, from which they spread over the rest of Egypt and the Oases. The priestly tradition of Ethiopia and Egypt asserted the worship of Ammon and Osiris, with its feasts and processions, to be first settled at Meroë the metropolis[t]. From

[r] Plin. vi, 35. Compare Mannert, x, p. 220.
[s] Herod. ii, 42.
[t] Diodorus, i, p. 175. As the credibility of the statements of Diodorus

this city did Osiris, the great symbol of Egyptian civilization, carry it into Egypt. The worship of Ammon and his temple associates, the same priestly dominion, the same oracles, confirmed it in antiquity; and do we not see the same truth still established by the monuments, when we discover in the temples of Upper and in the pyramids of Middle Egypt the same designs carried to the highest perfection, of which the monuments of Nubia and Meroë furnished the first rude models? But that Meroë was a colony of Thebes there is not the slightest proof. And if the question turns upon the rise of civilization,—what is gained by this opinion? On what account was it less likely to arise in Meroë than in the Thebais? No doubt, in both countries, certain external causes promoted it; but that these are to be found as well, indeed rather sooner, in Meroë than in the Thebais, will be seen in the next chapter.

It is no slight proof of the conclusions to which I came, in the early editions of these Researches, by the study of history, to find that the pursuits of others, in a different path,—I mean the study of monuments and inscriptions

depends entirely upon the sources from which he obtained them, it is necessary that these should be brought under notice. He cites them himself. At one time as written, namely the narrative of Agatharchides in his work on the Red sea, and the history of Artemidorus: at others as oral; namely the assertions of the priests in the Thebais; and of the ambassadors from Meroë, whom he there had an opportunity of conversing with; all these agree very well together. DIODORUS, i, p. 181.

—lead exactly to the same inferences. I cannot, therefore, refrain from giving here the opinions to which the labours of Gau and Champollion have led, although these as yet are only prematurely made known:

"The observation of Gau," it is said[w], "seems especially interesting, on account of the results to which it will lead; we mean his remark, that he hopes by his work to prove, that the original models of Egyptian architecture may be found in the Nubian monuments, from the rudest rock-excavation to the highest point of perfection; and that specimens are met with in Nubia of the three different epochs of architecture. Of the first attempts, the excavations from the sides of rocks, which were not till a later period ornamented with sculpture, the temples of Derar, Ipsambul, and Ghyrshe afford examples. From them Egyptian art proceeded to perfection, as we know from the monuments of Kalabshé, Dekar, etc.; and again retrograded, as is shown by the small buildings of Dandour, etc."

"History," it is said, in the letters upon Champollion's latest discoveries[x], "is extended and authenticated. Champollion reads the names of the mighty Egyptian Pharaohs upon

[w] From the German journals, the *Hesperus*, etc.

[x] From the *Lettres de Turin*, or in German, in the *Europaische Blätter*, Sept. 1824, p. 224. In some later accounts it is said, that among the Papyrus-rolls a whole archive has been found, with the names of the Pharaohs, and annals of their reign.

the edifices which they erected; and arrives at certainty respecting the deeds of a Thutmosis, Amenophis II., Ramasses Miamun, Ramasses the Great, or Sesostris, and others, which our modern sceptical critics would tear from the volume of authentic history, and place among the fabulous[y]. But a powerful voice is raised in their favour by the irrefragable evidence of the venerable reliefs, the innumerable inscriptions on the pylones and long walls of the Theban palaces. Nearly thirty royal dynasties are enumerated, of which, from seventeen upwards, uninterrupted monuments have been discovered."

"The most flourishing period of the Egyptian state, and its highest point of civilization, Champollion places under the eighteenth dynasty; the first of whose kings expelled the shepherd race, or *hyksos*, from Lower Egypt, under whom this part of Egypt had groaned for centuries. It was also the Pharaohs of this dynasty who so aggrandized Thebes; who built the vast palaces of Karnac, Luxor, Medinet Abou, Kornu, and Memnonium. What a high pitch of cultivation! What an astonishing era of art; two complete thousand years before the Augustan age of Rome! The magnificent palace of Karnac records by its hieroglyphics, that it was built during the eleven hundred

y That *my* criticism was not founded upon these, may be seen by the early editions of this work, and my *Manual of Ancient History*.

years which elapsed from the time of Amenophis I. to that of Nekao II. Amenophis I. was the third, Amenophis II. (whom the Greeks call Memnon) the eighth, and Amenophis III. the sixteenth of this glorious dynasty. But the most exalted hero among the Pharaohs was Ramasses the Great, or Sesostris, as he is called by Herodotus. He is the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, and flourished 1500 years before Christ[z]."

"But the advantage of these researches, so interesting in their consequences, is not merely confined to the antiquities of Egypt; it stretches away to the south—it opens up an historical view of countries, whose names have not yet been enrolled in the eternal tablets of history. In Nubia and Ethiopia, stupendous, numerous, and primeval monuments proclaim so loudly a civilization contemporary, aye earlier than that of Egypt, that it may be conjectured with the greatest confidence that the arts, sciences, and religion, descended from Nubia to the lower country of Mizraim; that civilization descended the Nile, built Memphis, and finally, something later, wrested by colonization the Delta from the sea. From Meroë and Axum, downwards, with the Nile, to the Mediterranean, there arose, as is testified by Diodorus, cultivated and powerful states, which,

[z] The Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties are those which I have comprised under the name of Sesostrides. *Manual of Ancient History.*

though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same writing, and the same religion."

"Champollion, by comparing the manners and customs, the political institutions and physical organization of the Egyptians with those of other nations, regards it as certain that they are a genuine African-descended race; undoubted aboriginals of this quarter of the world, as they resemble the western-Asiatic nations, their neighbours, in but a very few unimportant particulars. Their language contains as few analogies with the Sanscrit and Zend, the Chinese and the Arabic, as their writing with the rest of the known world. Every thing tends to prove them a great, a self-cultivated, and an exclusive family of nations, possessing the north-east of Africa, Nubia, the Oases, and Egypt."

How well these conclusions accord with my own, the earlier editions of this work will show. Should there still be something problematical in the manner in which the priest-caste extended itself, it will be solved by my recalling the attention of the reader to a remark already made; it is, that those very places formed the principal stations of the caravan trade. I have already proved this with regard to two of them, Ammonium and Thebes[a]; and the following inquiry will leave no doubt respecting Meroë itself.

[a] See above, p. 203.

If I do not err, a stream of light is breaking upon the night of Egyptian and Ethiopian antiquities, which opens to us new and unexpected prospects. Who can help perceiving here a close connection between religion and commerce, which was, perhaps, as natural to those countries as it is opposed to our institutions. Though this priesthood was not itself a trading body (which I by no means maintain), did it not guide the southern commercial intercourse by its establishments? Were they the builders of those proud temples and palaces along the banks of the Nile and on the great inland trading highways, which served as sanctuaries for their gods, as dwellings for themselves, and as stations and marts for the caravans? Were they, indeed, the founders of those states which bore so close a resemblance to each other in Egypt and Ethiopia?—These are questions which perhaps many of my readers have already proposed to themselves! But if we would not answer them with partiality, we must take a higher point of view, and trace out, in its whole extent, the ancient and so frequently mentioned Ethiopian commerce, as far as the darkness of antiquity will permit us.

CHAPTER III.

Commerce of Meroë and Ethiopia.

LABOUR OF EGYPT AND THE MERCHANDISE OF ETHIOPIA SHALL COME OVER UNTO THEE. ISAIAH, XLV, 14.

HEN it is considered that the Ethiopians re one of the most distant and least known ions of antiquity, and that only vague and figured reports had reached the west re- cting them, can it be a matter of surprise so little should be known of their com- ce? There are many circumstances, how- , in ancient history, which cannot be satis- rily proved and described from the direct mony of ancient writers, which, neverthe- appear certain and consistent to the critical ian. To this class belongs the early com- l intercourse among the southern nations, ich the Ethiopians took so considerable

re has, in a remarkable manner, or- the commerce of these nations, by con- treasures on one portion of the southern which the others have not, and yet

cannot well do without. This need of a commercial intercourse certainly does not prove its actual existence; but, as it evidently gives an additional force to every historical argument brought to its support, it is on that account necessary, to go somewhat farther into its detail.

By the countries of the south I here understand the western coast of the peninsula of India, together with Ceylon on one side, and Ethiopia and Arabia Felix on the other. India, as I have shown elsewhere[a], is one of the richest countries of the world in natural productions, and on that account has always been a country of the greatest importance in the commerce of the world. Besides wares for clothing, which it possesses in common with other countries, nature has bestowed upon it exclusively, cinnamon and pepper, the two spices most in request. In colder regions these are become articles of luxury; but under the burning and damp climate of the southern zone, they are indispensably necessary, as antidotes to putrefaction; and none of the nations in these regions can ever do without them after having once experienced their value.

Yeman, or Arabia the Blest, though separated from India by an open sea, is yet connected with it by nature in an extraordinary manner. One half of the year, from spring to autumn,

[a] See my *Researches on the Asiatic Nations.*

the wind[b] regularly sets in and wafts the vessels from Arabia to India; the other half, from autumn to spring, it as regularly carries them back from India to Arabia[c]. A sky, almost always serene, offers them the stars as guides, and spares them the pain of creeping round the coasts. Though nature has conferred no spices upon Arabia, she has amply made up for that deficiency by other valuable gifts. If not exclusively, Arabia is above all others, the native country of frankincense, of myrrh, and other aromatic perfumes. If the purification of the air by sweet smelling savours was not as necessary in these warm climates, as spices are for the preservation of the health, yet the value of these productions was doubled by religion. There was scarcely one of the half-civilized nations of the ancient world, that would have dared to offer a gift to the gods without frankincense.

As eastern Africa likewise produced frankincense, it divided, in some degree, this treasure with Yeman; but it possessed another besides, in its gold, of which neither this country nor India could boast, and without which their traffic must have been much cramped. Though the western coast of the Indian peninsula did not produce this metal, and Arabia, if at all, but very

[b] What are called the monsoons, which must not be confounded with the almost unchangeable trade winds of other seas.

[c] The former is a south-west, the latter a north-east wind.

sparingly[d], eastern Africa contained those districts abounding in gold, which are still numbered among the richest of the world.

Taking all these circumstances together, it may easily be perceived, that there are probably no other extensive regions of the world, where so many causes excite to a mutual commerce; and if any such should be found, trade could scarcely anywhere be more profitable than here. Let us now follow the historical traces which have been preserved respecting it.

The early appearance of Indian produce in the western world claims our first attention. Indian spices, especially cinnamon, come before us as early as the Mosaic records; and, indeed, in such quantities as plainly show them to have formed an important article of trade[e]. Should, however, any objection be made to the translation of the terms[f] or the uncertain antiquity of the Mosaic writings, the explicit accounts of the early trade of Arabia Felix will be sufficient to obviate them.

Both Hebrew and Greek writers always speak of this country as one of the richest of the earth. It has already been shown in my researches upon the commerce of the Phœnicians, how well that enterprising people, and

[d] Ancient writers give gold to Arabia Felix as a natural production. It is not found there at present, which leaves the fact in doubt.

[e] See in Exodus xxx, 23, the enumeration and quantity of spices to be used in compounding the holy oil of the sanctuary.

[f] I do not know that this has been questioned.

even the Jews, were acquainted with it[g]. The Hebrew poets cite the names of its various cities and harbours, and are full of the treasures which were imported from them[h]. No sooner had the Greeks obtained some knowledge of these regions than they almost exhausted their language in crying up the boundless riches concealed in Arabia Felix. "Its inhabitants, the Sabians," says Agatharchides as quoted by Diodorus[i], "not only surpass the neighbouring barbarians in wealth and magnificence but all other nations whatsoever. In bringing and selling their wares they obtain among all nations, the highest prices for the smallest quantities. As their distant situation protects them from all foreign plunderers, immense stores of precious metals have accumulated among them, especially in the capital. Curiously-wrought gold and silver drinking vessels in great variety; couches, tripods with silver feet, and an incredible profusion of costly furniture in general. Porticos with large columns partly gilt, with capitals ornamented with wrought silver figures. The roofs and doors are ornamented with gold fretwork, set with precious stones; besides which, an extraordinary magnificence reigns in the decoration of their houses, in which they use silver and gold, ivory, and the most precious stones, and all

[g] See the chapter on the land-trade of the Phœnicians.
[h] Compare Ezek. xxvii. 21-24, and the commentaries.
[i] Diodorus, i. p. 215. See note.

other things that men deem most valuable. These people have enjoyed their good fortune from the earliest times undisturbed; being sufficiently remote from all those who strove to feed their avarice with the treasures of others."

The inhabitants of this country then had obtained by their commerce not only immense wealth, but had arrived at a high degree of cultivation; as even architecture and the plastic arts had made a considerable progress among them. It was not, however, from the mere produce of their soil that they obtained this opulence; much of it, as we learn from Herodotus's account of the cinnamon which came through their country[k], was derived from the merchandise of India, for which their country was the great mart; and his statement is fully confirmed by the testimony of another well informed writer[l]. "Before merchants, he says, sailed from India to Egypt, and from Egypt to India (that is, as the context shows,

[k] HEROD. iii, 3. See the chapter on the land trade of the Phœnicians.

[l] ARRIAN. *Peripl. Mar. Eryth.* in HUDSON'S *Geog. Min.* i, p. 15. Since the first appearance of these Researches this valuable document, so important in the history of geography and commerce, has been illustrated by the well known and excellent commentaries of DEAN VINCENT. It appeared to this careful and acute critic, as it must indeed to every one, who, without prejudice, and with some knowledge of the East, goes into the inquiry, that the high antiquity and extent of an active commerce between the countries of the south is so very clear that no doubt can remain respecting it. The results of the learned dean, who laboured independently of the author,—though he shortly before his death testified to him, by letter, his participation, and approbation of his labours, and sent to the library of Goettingen a copy of the last edition of his work, enriched with his own autograph additions,—are quite in unison upon these particulars. See VINCENT, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, in the *Preliminary Disquisitions*, p. 57, etc.

before the period of the Ptolemeys), Arabia Felix was the staple both for Egyptian and Indian goods, much as Alexandria is now for the commodities of Egypt and foreign merchandise."

If the explicit testimony here brought forward proves a commercial intercourse between India and Arabia, it proves at the same time its high antiquity, and that it must have been in active operation for many centuries[m]. And although we have not sufficient information to point out with absolute certainty by what nation and by what way the navigation between these two countries was carried on, yet every thing connected with the subject, seems to point the finger so plainly to the Arabians, that we can scarcely err in attributing it to them. The Indians nowhere appear as navigators[n]; the Arabians always. They not only possessed the navigation of the Indian ocean during the whole of the middle ages, but undoubtedly enjoyed during the period of the Ptolemeys, and immediately afterwards, the advantage of a direct intercourse with India. When therefore we hear that their country even thus early was the market

[m] Although its commencement is beyond the reach of history, it is nevertheless very evident that it was yet in its zenith during the times of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; in the eighth and seventh centuries before the Christian era, and consequently in the flourishing period (as is shown in the preceding section) of the kingdom of Meroë. The overthrow of the throne of the Pharaohs seems to have led to its decay; though the more early great Asiatic wars of the Assyrians and Babylonians, had, no doubt, considerably affected it.

[n] See VINCENT's *Periplus*, p. 61, and my *Researches on the Indians*.

for Indian goods, it is surely highly probable that they, at this time as well as afterwards, possessed the carrying trade of the Indian ocean. Whether this was confined to coasting, or whether advantage was taken of the monsoons, and vessels stretched across the sea, must be left to conjecture; though we can scarcely suppose it possible that the benefit of this wind should have remained unknown, during the lapse of centuries, to a people dwelling in the very regions whence it blew[o]. Every other passage across the open sea, in the infancy of time, may excite suspicion, nothing however can be opposed to the shortness and facility of this. A great part of the way along the Arabian coast, moreover, might be navigated by the monsoons; the rest of the voyage was in itself inconsiderable, and the great number of islands, with which the ocean is here dotted, would serve as landmarks and harbours. At all events it is a remarkable circumstance to every reflecting mind, that the direct transit from Yeman to India

[o] The well known account in ARRIAN, *Peripl.* p. 32, that the use of the monsoons was first introduced by the Greek, Hippalus, forms no objection. It refers only to the Greeks at Alexandria, and not to the earlier periods. In these primitive times the use of the monsoons was not required in the same manner as in the Alexandrine period, when vessels sailed from Myos, Hormos, and Berenice. At that time Aden, lying without the straits of Babelmandel, was the principal port, as it seemed destined to be by its position. This distinction is of great importance. The voyage from Aden to Malabar and back is the easiest in the world, because one sails thither with one wind and returns with another; but the voyage out of the Arabian gulf is far more difficult, for two different winds are required both for the navigation to and fro. See on this head VALENTIA's *Travels*, ii. p. 380.

leads straight to that very district of all this vast country, in which (at Elephanta and Salsette) some of the most ancient and remarkable monuments that are to be found within it still exist.

The intercourse between Arabia and Ethiopia is not subject even to one of *these* little difficulties. They are neighbouring countries, only separated by a narrow strait. Just across this lies the Ethiopian land of frankincense, known to Herodotus[p], and, near to that, the gold countries, of which so much has already been said. That Egypt and the rest of northern Africa abounded in the home produce of Ethiopia, as well as in those of the countries we have just mentioned, is evident from so many circumstances, that no doubt can remain upon the subject.

In proportion as we ascend into the primeval ages, the closer seems the connection between Egypt and Ethiopia. The Hebrew poets seldom mention the former without the latter; the inhabitants of both are drawn as commercial nations. When Isaiah, or rather a later poet in his name, celebrates the victories of Cyrus, their submission is spoken of as his most magnificent reward. "The trade of the Egyptians, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and of the tall men of Saba will come over to thee and become thine own[q]." When Jeremiah[r] extols the great victory of

[p] Herod. ii, 8. [q] Isaiah, xlv, 14. [r] Jerem. xlvi, 9.

Nebuchadnezzar over Pharaoh Neco near Carchemish, the Ethiopians are allied to the Egyptians. When Ezekiel threatens the downfall of Egypt, he unites with it the most distant Ethiopia[s]. Every page, indeed, of Egyptian history exhibits proofs of the close intimacy in which they stood. The primitive states of Egypt, as we have already seen, derived their origin from these remote regions; Thebes and Meroë founded in common a colony in Libya; Ethiopian conquerors more than once invaded Egypt; Egyptian kings in return forced their way into Ethiopia; the same worship, the same manners and customs, the same mode of writing are found in both countries; and under Psammetichus, as is shown above, the noble and numerous party of malcontents retired into Ethiopia. Does not this intimate connection presuppose a permanent alliance, which could only have been formed and maintained by a long, peaceable, and friendly intercourse?

Egypt also, as far as history reaches back, abounded in all the commodities of the southern regions. Whence did she obtain the spices and drugs with which so many thousands of her dead were embalmed? Whence the incense which burned on her altars? Whence that immense quantity of cotton in which her inhabitants were clad, and which her own soil so sparingly produced[t]?

[s] Ezek. xxx, 5, and the Comment. of Michaelis.

[t] See Beckmann's *Corbereitung zur Waarenkunde*, v, p. 19.

Farther, whence came into Egypt that early rumour of the Ethiopian gold countries, which Cambyses set out to discover, and lost half his army in the attempt? Whence that profusion of ivory and ebony which the ancient artists of Greece and Palestine embellished[u]? Whence that general and early spread of the name of Ethiopia which glimmers in the traditional history of so many nations, and which is celebrated as well by the Jewish poets as the earliest Grecian bards? Whence all this, while the deserts which surrounded that people, seemed to form an eternal barrier between them and the inhabitants of the northern districts?

Yet why should I invoke thus imperiously the traditions which have so long slept? Let the remains of those proud monuments, which extend in one unbroken series from Elephantis and Philæ beyond the desert to Meroë, now speak for themselves. However short and monosyllabic their language, they plainly enough evince that a close connection must have prevailed between the nations that erected them.

I think I have now placed the reader in a situation to judge both of the certainty and extent of this international commerce of the

[u] HEROD. iii, 114. Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, brings forth gold in plenty, and ivory and ebony and various other woods, and the tallest and most long-lived of men.

southern regions in that very remote period. It was just a connection between the richest and most productive regions of the earth: the gold countries of eastern Africa, the spice regions of India, and the native land of frankincense, of precious stones and drugs in southern Arabia. Another interesting research still demands our attention, and that is to trace the course of this trade through the distant countries of Africa. The more original and unexpected the views have been which have already, in more than one place, opened before us, the greater claim I hope to have to the indulgence of the reader while I yet detain him somewhat longer on this part of my subject.

This research necessarily presupposes another inquiry, upon which indeed I have already touched, but which still requires to be carried a little farther, because it is a subject which does not readily fall in with our ideas, I allude to the exact *relation in which commerce stood in these regions with religion.*

Commerce and religion have always been indissolubly connected in the East. All trade and commercial intercourse requires peaceable and secure places in which it may be transacted. In the limited countries of Europe, inhabited by nations partly or altogether civilized, every city, indeed almost every hamlet, affords this. How totally different is the case in the immeasurable tracts of the East! The rich caravans here have often to perform

journeys of hundreds of miles through nations of nomad robbers. The mart is not where they might choose, but on the boundaries of the desert, where nature herself fixes it, in the midst, or in the neighbourhood of these roving hordes. What can protect commerce here but the sanctity of the place? Where are their free cities except under the walls of the temple?

Besides, a profitable and ready sale of merchandise requires a resorting together of men; and where does this take place so frequently and to such an extent as in the vicinity of the national sanctuaries, where whole nations celebrate their feasts? Here, where men give themselves up to good living, the necessaries of life will be plentiful, and here the merchant will obtain the best profits. Now, however, the East affords a striking example of the extent to which the trade by sea has diminished that by land. Mecca remains still, through its holy sanctuary, the chief mart for the commerce of Arabia; and what are the great caravans of pilgrims which journey thither from Asia and Africa but trading caravans? Are not the fairs which depend upon their arrival the greatest in Asia?

The rapidity with which a place rises in the East, when once it has obtained a sanctuary that becomes the object of pilgrimage, and by that means becomes a place of trade, almost

surpasses belief[x]. The whole organization of social life in these parts contributes towards it. In Europe the richest market can only become the resort of a less or greater number of individuals; but in the East, where the greater part of the inhabitants consist of nomads, who though their wants be few have still some, or easily acquire them, which can only be gratified by commerce, it is not merely individuals, but whole tribes, or portions of tribes, who appear as merchants. How well-frequented, how important must a trading place of this kind become under such circumstances? How widely must the fame of such a sanctuary become spread; and if once trade becomes connected with it, how natural it seems, that, by the establishment of similar sanctuaries, with the same form of worship in other distant places, the same order of things should follow?

Upon the religion of these nations, I have endeavoured to be as explicit as the nature of

[x] The single example drawn from the present times of a place in Egypt, which Europeans scarcely know by name, may serve as a sufficient proof. Tenta, a city of the Delta, is celebrated as containing the sepulchre of a Mahometan saint, Seyd Achmed. The veneration in which this is held brings an incredible number of pilgrims, who come at the time of the spring-equinox and summer-solstice from Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia, and Darfour. Their number is stated at one hundred and fifty thousand. These periodical assemblies, besides the worship of the saint, are devoted to commerce; and each of them is the period of a celebrated fair, which lasts for many days, and at which the produce of Upper Egypt, the coast of Barbary, and the whole of the east, is exchanged for the cattle of the Delta and the linen there manufactured. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. ii, p. 357.

these researches requires. It was the worship of Ammon and the deities into which he became transformed, whose rites were propagated by the foundation of colonies of the same caste of priests along the banks of the Nile, from the vicinity of its sources till its divided streams lose themselves in the sea. And the same places which are most celebrated for the worship of these deities, are also famous as the great marts for the commerce of these regions.

These statements, therefore, furnish us with so many data for determining the most ancient trading route from Ethiopia to Egypt and northern Africa. It is unnecessary to prove that this was a caravan trade; the situation and nature of the country will allow of no other. The Nile, if we believe Herodotus, was not navigable above Egypt but with great labour (although commerce in this way seems very early to have been carried on); and single merchants could travel with as little safety in antiquity, as they can at present, over these sandy deserts without a secure convoy.

I have already, in my researches upon the land trade of the Carthaginians, pointed out the caravan roads from the north of Africa, and the negro countries to Upper Egypt, where Thebes was the place of rendezvous. It therefore only now remains to trace out the route from thence to Ethiopia, and its chief place, Meroë.

Nubia from its situation is the natural, and

has therefore always been the great point of communication for the caravan trade between Ethiopia and the countries on this side the Nubian desert. There are still three principal caravans which go from inner Africa to Egypt; one from Fezzan or Barbary, another from Darfour, and a third from Sennaar and Atbar, the ancient Meroë[y]. In coming from Egypt this is the first fertile spot that relieves the wearied eye of the traveller over the dreary desert, the crossing of which is so often attended with toil and pain, and frequently with peril. Nature therefore seems to have destined this as the resting place for the caravans from Egypt; it is likewise the natural staple for such productions of inner Africa, as are wont to be transported to the north. It is indeed the extreme point of the gold countries towards Egypt[z]; and possesses an easy communication with the southern regions, by the many navigable streams with which it is surrounded. Its moderate distance from Arabia Felix facilitates its intercourse with that rich country, which again

[y] This is generally acknowledged. See however *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv, p. 81.

[z] Meroë is enumerated as one of the countries which produce gold. DIODORUS, i, p. 38; STRABO, p. 1177. This is particularly to be understood of the districts adjoining it on the south-west, Cuba and Nuba, which abound in gold. It is however very probable that the rivers in Meroë brought some gold with them, as they partly flowed from those mountainous provinces. Meroë moreover had mines of iron and metal, DIODORUS, i, p. 38; STRABO, p. 1177. Certainly not an unimportant circumstance in estimating the degree of civilization to which that country had attained.

renders it, as it thereby possesses the trade of Arabia and India, the natural market of Africa for Arabian and Indian goods.

But though Sennaar, or the country of Meroë, appears as a great commercial country, yet the territory about the city of Meroë seems always to have been the principal market.

"Shendy," (now the nearest place to the ancient Meroë) says Bruce[a], who does not speak here as illustrating any point of history, but as simply relating his adventures, "was once a town of great resort. The caravans of Sennaar, Egypt, Suakin, and Kordofan, all were accustomed to rendezvous here, especially since the Arabs have cut off the road by Dongola."

Still more copious particulars have been given us by another well known traveller, no way inferior to Bruce; I mean the celebrated Maillet, who wrote at the beginning of the last century[b]. At that time the caravan from Sennaar arrived twice every year, bringing gold dust, ebony, ivory, balsam, and between two and three thousand black slaves:—all wares equally known and valued in antiquity[c]. It assembled at Gherri, a place lying a few miles above Shendy and the ancient Meroë. The merchants from Sennaar and Gondar, the two chief cities of Abyssinia, and many other

[a] BRUCE, iv, p. 532.

[b] MAILLET, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 197, 216, etc.

[c] Exactly the same that Herodotus mentions as the produce of Ethiopia, see lib. iii, 114.

districts, here met together to begin their journey. The caravans leave the Nile to the east, and stretch across Libya, where, after a seventeen days' journey, they come to a fertile valley planted with palms; then, continuing their route, which leads over mountainous districts, they again reach the Nile at Monfelut a city of Upper Egypt.

The information brought to Europe by the French expedition, not only confirms this statement, but discloses many other particulars respecting the commercial importance of these places[d]. Shendy, or the ancient Meroë, we are told, is the place where the caravan road to the north, or Egypt, and to the east, or the Arabian gulf and Suakin, separate. It must therefore on this account have become long ago a place of great trade, and it still remains the next city to Sennaar.

It bare also this character in the middle ages, to the flourishing period of Arabian commerce. The trading road extended at that time from Alua to Suakin, to Massuah, and to the islands on the Arabian sea[e].

Burkhardt, who remained an entire month at Shendy[f], not only confirms all this, but gives such copious details respecting the trade of that town, that I refer the reader to his work

[d] *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv, p. 119.

[e] From MAKRIZI in QUATREMERE DE QUINCY, *Mémoires*, ii, p. 16.

[f] From the 17th of April to the 17th of May, 1814. *Travels*, p. 277, etc.

in preference to giving extracts. "Commerce," he says, "is the very life of society in these countries. There is not a single family which is not connected more or less with some branch of traffic, either wholesale or retail, and the people of Berber and Shendy appear to be a nation of traders in the strictest sense of the word[g]." Among the articles of commerce which he particularly specifies, are black male and female slaves, dhourra, gold, ivory, ebony, monkeys, and ostrich feathers[h]. The land does not produce sufficient dhourra for the consumption of the population, but requires a supply to be imported. The many other articles of commerce, which he mentions, are chiefly brought from Sennaar, whence a caravan arrives every six weeks; almost as often from Suakin; and the traffic with Yeman, Hadramaut, and Malabar, is represented as very active[i]. To these must be added the salt-trade, so important in ancient times[k]. The great salt-works are but at a few miles distance from Shendy, which supply all Abyssinia with this useful commodity; Strabo also mentions this, to whom I must refer for farther par-

[g] BURKHARDT, p. 234.

[h] That there was a considerable trade in ostrich feathers in antiquity, is evident from the frequency of their appearance in the headdress of the Egyptian priests. Monkeys we have seen above among the booty, p. 357, as well as in the trade of Ophir, 1 CHRON. ix, 21.

[i] BURKHARDT, p. 319.

[k] IBID. p. 276. It is perfectly white. The Sennaar merchants buy it in great quantities for the Abyssinian market. Its importance in all ages requires no proof.

ticulars[l]. I shall only notice one other circumstance, which I think of too much consequence to be passed over in silence.

Although the intercourse between Egypt, Arabia, and Sennaar, is so brisk, that to the west, with Soudan[m], is altogether as inactive and insignificant. The principal commerce of the interior of Africa, is chiefly carried on in two directions; one follows the valley of the Nile from Egypt to Sennaar, the other is that of Soudan, from the Joliba to the Mediterranean. The empire of Bornou forms a separation between them. Thus it is now. And a glance at the trading routes laid down upon my map, will show that it was just the same in antiquity. All here perfectly agrees.

It appears, therefore, that the districts of Gherri and Shendy, that is of the ancient Meroë, was, and still continues to be, the place where the caravans are formed, which trade between Egypt and Ethiopia, or the point at which they touch in passing to and fro. But a commercial connection between Egypt and Meroë being established, it scarcely needs be mentioned, that the trade of the latter must necessarily have stretched much farther into the south of Africa. Meroë was the emporium, where the produce of the distant southern lands were collected together, in order to be transported, either on the Nile, or by caravans,

[l] Strabo, p. 1177. [m] Burkhardt, p. 322.

into north Africa. The great end of this commerce was the rich gold countries, much farther to the south. What is said of the Macrobians, whose seat I have already proved to be at a much greater distance in this direction, shows that such was the case. If Cambyses, however, could settle the plan of an expedition to this nation, and could find Egyptian Ichthyophagi who knew the road and could speak their language, to send there as spies, a connection between them and Egypt must already have existed for some time. The only obstruction to the communication between north and south Africa is the desert; the countries beyond that maintain, as we learn both from ancient writers and the more modern accounts of the British society, a constant intercourse[n].

Thus numerous and manifold are the traces of a connection between Egypt and Ethiopia! We have only now to determine accurately the routes by which it was carried on. The usual route of the caravans in the present day runs to the east of the Nile, where that river makes its great bend towards the west, through the midst of the Nubian desert; the same that Bruce followed from Sennaar to Egypt, and Burkhardt from Egypt to Sennaar[o]. From the northern boundaries of Sennaar, and the beginning of the desert, to Assur on the Egyp-

[n] *Proceedings*, etc. p. 259, etc.

[o] The different stations and the distances, are accurately stated in the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv, 118.

tian frontier, the distance amounts to twenty days' journey[p]. Another road, which almost constantly follows the course of the Nile, is, in consequence of its great westerly bend, much farther about[q]. Whether the first, that is the shorter but more difficult, was frequented in antiquity, cannot be determined from express historic evidence; but as Eratosthenes and Artemidorus state the distance from Syene to the city of Meroë, the former at 625 and the latter at 600 miles[r], and these distances are undoubtedly reckoned according to this route[s], we may safely conclude that it was known. According to Burkhardt, it is the only route from Shendy to Egypt[t], and the one generally pursued by the Sennaar caravans. Though not without its perils, it did not appear so dangerous to him as the great Syrian desert. Springs are met with, and these naturally confine the path to one direction. A description of the longer way on the banks of the Nile, and, indeed, as far as the nature of the stream will allow, upon that river, has already been given from Herodotus, whose forty days' journey is explained by the context, that the

[p] Which is the time it took Burkhardt, who travelled with a caravan. It took Bruce less because he did not journey with a numerous caravan.

[q] It is traced out in Bruce's map.

[r] See above, p. 386.

[s] Reckoning the day's journey at twenty-five miles, it will require twenty-four days for the whole distance, which agrees very well with the above statements, if we add to the twenty days' journey the distance from Shendy to the beginning of the desert.

[t] Burkhardt, p. 207.

course of the river is almost invariably followed[u]. The succession of places along the river renders it probable that in these times it was the common way, especially for those who dreaded the dangers of the desert. These places continue to *Merawé* where the last cataracts begin; and a very natural cause is found in this situation for the establishment of these settlements. Pliny was not only acquainted with them but describes the manner of the voyage up the Nile. "Syene," says he, "is the rendezvous of the Ethiopian vessels. The sailors fold them together, and carry them on their shoulders as often as they come to the cataracts[x]." This custom is still continued. "Notwithstanding the number of falls and cataracts," says Maillet[y], "which render the navigation difficult, they do not altogether impede it. The boats are brought as near as possible to the cataracts; the moveable wares are then all taken out, and a number of men take the boat, which is built very light for this purpose, upon their shoulders, and carry it past the cataracts, while others transport the merchandise to the same place. The boat is then relaunched on the Nile, and so they go on, from cataract to cataract, until they have passed them all." But, the nature of the journey itself shows very well that this could hardly have been the usual caravan road.

[u] See above, p. 383.

[x] *Plicatiles*, PLIN. v, 9, they were, therefore, probably made of skins.

[y] MAILLET, p. 215.

And, besides, the account of Herodotus expressly states, that people, in order to avoid the cataracts would rather go a journey of about forty days. The number of places show that this route lay through inhabited districts, which perhaps rendered it possible for single travellers to go it without danger.

The route which led, in ancient times, from Meroë to the Arabian gulf and Yeman, is not pointed out by any historian. Nevertheless, traces are still extant of the intercourse of those nations, which time has been unable to obliterate. Just in the midst of the way are found the ruins of Axum, and, at its end, on the coast opposite Arabia Felix, the remains of Adule and Azab.

The antiquity of Axum, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, entitles it to a particular notice. Its name is not mentioned, so far as I can discover, by any writers previous to the first century. It was unknown both to Herodotus and Strabo. It is first mentioned by the author of the Periplus of the Red sea[z], who probably flourished under Nero; and afterwards by Ptolemey. Some time later, in the sixth century, when Justinian closed an alliance with Ethiopia, Axum was highly celebrated. At this time it was the residence of the Ethiopian

[z] ARRIAN, *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* in HUDSON's *Geog. Min.* vol. i, p. 3. Axum is here called a *capital* (metropolis), and was at that time the chief mart for the ivory trade. It was about seven or eight days' journey from the Red sea.

monarchs; Cosmas, Nonnosus, Procopius, and others have a good deal to say concerning it[a].

The silence of early writers, however, proves nothing against a higher antiquity; and that Axum, in fact, was more ancient would be proved by an inscription which Bruce states he found there, if the existence of the inscription itself had not since been disputed. But, notwithstanding the silence of the early writers, the ruins of Axum are still left, and their evidence is sufficient to establish the fact.

These remarkable monuments soon attracted the attention of travellers. The first account we have of them was given by two Portuguese, Alvarez and Tellez[b]; to this succeeded the narrative of Bruce, which has been sharply criticised, and in many places corrected, by Salt, a later traveller, and the companion of Lord Valentia.

The accounts given by the Portuguese, especially by Alvarez, are copious, but not critical. The remains of Axum belong to different ages; partly to a very high antiquity, partly to the first centuries of the Christian era, and partly to a still later period. Alvarez and Tellez had not sufficient knowledge to distinguish these accurately; but their information is still very valuable, because it shows that in

[a] See LUDOLF, *Hist. Æthiop.* ii, cap. 11, and commentaries, etc. p. 60, et 251.

[b] See ALVAREZ, *Viaggio della Etiopia*, cap. 38, and TELLEZ, *Historia General da Ethiopia*, lib. i, cap. 22.

their time many monuments were extant which are no longer to be found. Besides the obelisks, sometimes standing and sometimes thrown down, which were in part covered with inscriptions, Alvarez mentions many pedestals, and statues of lions jetting out water. Tellez not only speaks of obelisks and pyramids, whose resemblance to the Egyptian cannot be mistaken, but also saw, as he relates, an inscription in Greek and Latin letters, most likely the same which Salt has since given to the world.—The narrative of Bruce I partly give in his own words[c].

"On the eighteenth of January (1770) we came into the plain, wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia, at least as it is supposed. For my part, I believe it to have been the magnificent metropolis of the trading people, or Troglodyte Ethiopians, for the reason I have already given, as the Abyssinians never built any city, nor do the ruins of any exist at this day in the whole country. But the black, or Troglodyte part of it[1], have in many places buildings of great strength, magnitude, and expense, especially at Azab[d], worthy the magnificence and riches of a state, which was from

[c] Bruce, iii, p. 130, etc.

[1] [That is, according to Heeren's translation, in the parts inhabited by the Troglodytæ, or Negroes. *Trans.*]

[d] Azab lies on the African coast, near the straits of Babelmandel, and exactly opposite Arabia Felix. It is a great pity that neither Bruce nor any other traveller has yet examined these ruins.

the earliest ages the emporium of the Indian and African trade."

"The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but entirely consist of public buildings. In one square, which I apprehend to have been the centre of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them. They are all of one piece of granite; and on the top of that which is standing, there is a *paterœ* exceedingly well carved in the Greek taste."

"We proceeded southwards by a road cut in a mountain of red marble, having on the left a parapet-wall about five feet high, solid, and of the same materials. At equal distances there are hewn in this wall solid pedestals, upon the tops of which we see the marks where stood the colossal statues of Syrius, the Latrator Anubis, or Dog-star. One hundred and thirty-three of these pedestals, with the marks of the statues I just mentioned, are still in their places; but only two figures of the dog remained when I was there, much mutilated, but a taste easily distinguished to be Egyptian[e]."

"There are likewise pedestals, whereon the figures of the sphinx have been placed. Two

[e] Might not these mutilated figures of dogs have been intended for sphinxes, or even Egyptian lions, somewhat like those of the *Fontana Felice* at Rome? Bruce, led away by his hypothesis of the worship of the dog-star, saw everywhere monuments of it. Though Salt could not find these two figures, that proves nothing against their existence; as Alvarez mentions many similar statues of the lions, which in his time served as fountains.

magnificent flights of steps, several hundred feet long, all of granite, exceedingly well fashioned, and still in their places, are the only remains of a magnificent temple."

These accounts of Bruce are in part contradicted and in part confirmed by Salt, the companion of Lord Valentia, but who went alone into Abyssinia[f]. He denies the existence of a parapet of red marble, and the traces of one hundred and thirty-three pedestals upon it; as what Bruce took for a work of art, he regards as a natural production. The remains of ancient art found by Salt are two groups of obelisks, a considerable distance apart, each composed of fourteen or fifteen pieces. Only one of each group is now standing. The largest, formed of one piece of granite, is eighty feet high, and some of those thrown down are still more; the smaller one is twenty feet. Many of them, and the first one standing upright is among the number, are ornamented with sculptures, which seem, however, rather embellishments than hieroglyphics; some are plain. The proportions and workmanship are admirable; the plates of Salt give a very just idea of them, and contradict the strange fancies of Bruce respecting the Greek *pateræ*, etc.

The ancient monuments of Axum were laid waste by the violence of fanaticism. According

[f] VALENTIA'S *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 87, sq. 181. Among the plates are a ground-plot of the territory, a representation of the great obelisk, and of the modern church.

to the statement of the ecclesiastics of the place, by a queen of Amhara, named Gadit, about the year 1070; or, according to an inscription found there, by a conqueror named Abun David; perhaps by both. As Axum was something more than eleven hundred years the seat of a Christian church (the present one was built in 1657), many of the old materials were probably used in the construction of the new establishments; and only such remain as could not be readily removed or put to use. This, however, is sufficient to clear up every doubt respecting the high antiquity of Axum. Though the plan of the principal building can no longer be accurately laid down, yet Mr. Salt expressly remarks, that all the antiquities in the district of the new church now form one group, and formerly belonged to one great fabric. But who does not perceive in its separate members, as well as in the whole, a most striking resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. Do not the rows of obelisks, which here again form an avenue; the pedestals, which at one time bore statues, perhaps of a gigantic size; and the vast magnitude of the whole, show the same architecture, the same art in the arrangement of the great masses of stone, and the same taste as the ruins of Thebes, of Elephantis, and Meroë, with which Bruce himself in another place compares them[g]! Remarkable differences,

[g] Bruce, iv, p. 542.

however still occur; for, as I have already observed, no traces of obelisks appear in Nubia and Meroë[h], while here we find them in groups; and while, on the contrary, the Egyptian obelisks are covered with hieroglyphics, there are none on those of Axum, which are merely ornamented.

These circumstances have lately led a learned historian, to conjecture that Axum was originally one of the cities founded by the emigrant warrior-caste from Egypt. And there is much, certainly, which appears to favour this opinion[i]. It lays within the territory possessed by them, which we know extended easterly towards the Arabian gulf. And, if this opinion should be correct, it would account for the absence of hieroglyphics, as there was no caste of priests among them. This would make Axum mount up to the last period of the Pharaohs, and it is known, from the Periplus of Arrian, to have been, some centuries later, a principal mart for the interior trade; whether it was so even still earlier, remains indeed open to conjecture.

The end of this route, according to Bruce, was Azab, at the entrance of the Arabian gulf, whence the passage to Arabia Felix requires but a few hours. Ruins, similar to those de-

[h] What Bruce took for the fragment of an obelisk near Kurgos (see above p. 389) was not seen by his successor.

[i] MANNERT, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, part x, 166. He considers Axum to be identified with Esar, which was one of the cities founded by them. Compare my treatise in *Comment. Soc. Goetting.* vol. xii. p. 64.

scribed in the passage above cited from Bruce, are said still to point out the site of this remarkable place, which was at one time the great staple of Indian and Arabian goods for the vast regions of Africa[k].

But besides Azab there is yet another ancient seaport on the Arabian gulf, of which we can speak with more certainty, I mean Adule. This lay at a small distance from the present Arkeeko, 15° N. lat. "Adule," says Pliny[l], "according to an ancient writer, is the greatest emporium of the Troglodytæ and Ethiopians. They bring here ivory, rhinoceros-horn, hippopotamus-hides, tortoiseshell, and slaves." Adule was certainly an Egyptian colony. "Egyptian bondsmen, who ran away from their masters, founded it." Must not this be a version of the emigration of the warriors? Unfortunately, no modern traveller has reached Adule; Stuart, whom Salt sent there, was obliged to return, having been prevented from proceeding. The Arabians, however, are uniform in their assurances, that the ruins of a city exist there; and a column brought to Arkeeko gives evident

[k] From the accounts already given of the Somaulies, at p. 331, it is seen how desirable it is that the coast of Africa about the straits of Babelmandel should be more accurately explored. If we were even to set aside the authority of Bruce with regard to Azab (which is the same as Saba), it would be very astonishing if the long intercourse between Arabia and Africa had not produced some large settlement. But if not to be found exactly in the spot where Azab is placed upon our charts, it may perhaps with more probability be sought for without the straits, as from that part a connection with Aden would be so much easier.

[l] PLIN. vi, 34.

proofs of the Egyptian style[m]. The successful adventurer who reaches this place will most likely make some interesting discoveries, and perhaps will find there, still in its place, the well-known monument of Adule, for the preservation of whose inscription we are indebted to Cosmas[n].

It is an important circumstance, and more than once mentioned by Bruce, that in all Abyssinia there are only three places, namely, Azab, Axum, and Meroë (to which we may now add Adule), where ruins of those great establishments are found, whose form as well as high antiquity shows them to have sprung from a common origin. All these are ruins of large public edifices; every thing about them is colossal; while of private habitations there is not the slightest trace. These, perhaps, from their being less durable, may have long been crumbled with the dust; though it must always remain very doubtful, whether, and how far, we ought to extend our notion of cities to any of those places. The greater portion of the inhabitants of Ethiopia were nomads, as they are in the present day, and as from the nature of their country they must always remain. Who therefore can venture to determine that those places called cities, really were so in point of fact? Is it not possible that these places,

[m] SALT, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 452. The name is now pronounced Zulla.

[n] See above p. 332.

adorned with temples and obelisks, were merely extensive places of trade, where caravans from remote regions of the world gathered together, and to which distant nations, under the protection of the deities who inhabited these temples, brought the treasures of their country, in order to barter them for others? Does not this notion seem most agreeable to the physical geography of Ethiopia, and does it not best accord with the magnificence of these monuments? It cannot be too often repeated, that in those distant countries every thing sprung from completely different causes, and therefore must have been completely different from what they are in the regions in which we live.

Let us now take a review of what we have thus far advanced, and we shall find that we may with certainty deduce from it the following conclusions:

1st. It appears, that in the earlier ages, a commercial intercourse existed here, between the countries of southern Asia and Africa—between India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, and Egypt; which was founded upon their mutual necessities, and became the parent of the civilization of these people.

2dly. The principal seat of this national intercourse for Africa was Meroë; and its principal route is still pointed out by a chain of ruins, extending from the shores of the Indian sea to the Mediterranean. Adule, Azab, and Axum, are links of this chain between Arabia Felix

and Meroë; Thebes and Ammonium between Meroë, Egypt, and Carthage[o].

[o] It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that this whole chain, and almost every link of it, may be traced in the earliest Greek mythology. The fame of the Ethiopians, as a civilized people, had forced its way to Greece in the time of Homer, and referred pre-eminently, as we have shown above, to Meroë. The hundred-gated Thebes is celebrated by the same poet. The traditions of Jupiter Ammon, in Libya, are interwoven with the most ancient Greek mythi (Diod. i, p. 237); and that the Carthaginian coasts was a theatre of these mythi, is generally known, from the Argonautic expedition, the Triton sea, the garden of the Hesperides, the Gorgons, etc. All this proves, that rumours of these regions and places travelled very early into the west; and is it not evident, that these should be understood of the places, which were the seats of national commerce? But a very remarkable clew is preserved in Herodotus, which seems evidently to prove, that not merely rumour of this commerce found its way into Greece, but that an attempt was actually made, at a very early period, to introduce it from Africa, by the then usual means, of founding a sanctuary and oracle. I refer to his account of the origin of the Dodona oracle under the Pelasgi, ii, 51—58. The priests of Ammon at Thebes informed him, that the oracle of Ammon and of Dodona were both founded from Thebes; and he himself testifies, that they were both delivered in the same manner. Two sacred women (prophetesses or soothsayers), were carried off by the Phœnicians, who sold one in Libya and the other in Greece; the latter of whom founded that of Dodona, and the former that of Ammon. The information he received in Dodona was, that two black doves had flown from Thebes into Egypt, one to Libya, the other to Dodona, at which places they had, with human voices, commanded the establishment of oracles; all this Herodotus himself explains to be a figurative account, which had arisen from the prophetesses having spoken a foreign language, and from their having been black Egyptian females. The account of the sale of the two women as slaves was given him by the priests themselves as an uncertain tradition. So far as regards Ammon, we know from other creditable testimony that this oracle was a colony founded by Thebes and Meroë; it is therefore exceedingly natural to conjecture the same of Dodona, and to consider the holy women as merely representing these settlements, because they, as prophetesses, certainly were the chief personages. Thus then becomes explained the account of Herodotus, ii, 51—58: the oracle at Dodona commanded the Pelasgians to adopt the Egyptian names of the deities, which at the same time passed through them to the Hellenes. I scarcely need repeat that I only state this as a conjecture; but yet I know no more natural way of explaining Herodotus's extraordinary account of the adoption of the Egyptian names of deities in Greece, than that the

3dly. The chief places of this trade were likewise establishments of the priest-caste, who, as a dominant race, had their principal seat at Meroë, whence they sent out colonies, which in their turn became builders of cities and temples, and likewise the founders of states.

No doubt therefore can exist respecting the close connection between trade and religion here; nor respecting the manner in which more than one state became formed, in the interior of Africa, in very high antiquity. But though this caste, by sending out colonies, guided the course of trade; it did not, on that account, keep it to itself, nor did it, in general, even directly participate in it. I have already remarked, that the tribe of priests by no means became a tribe of merchants. It would, indeed, have been altogether contrary to the manners of the East; nevertheless, without properly following trade, they found means to obtain a share of its benefits, and the consideration which this caste obtained through it was very great; partly from the oracles; partly from the security and protection which they afforded; and partly from the number and variety of the merchants [p].

oracle at Dodona was influenced from now known causes to introduce the Egyptian worship into Greece. That this did not produce the same effect as in Africa is easily accounted for. Greece was altogether a different world; and whatever the Greeks adopted from foreigners they always stamped as their own property.

[p] Let the reader here bear in mind what is said of the present Damer. See above p. 425.

The nature of the caravan trade imposes upon it the necessity of employing a great number of hands; to perform these long journeys in safety, numerous bodies are requisite as a guard; besides which, the whole internal organization of caravans, the care of the camels and other beasts of burden, the lading and unlading of the wares, etc., require a great number of assistants, who not unfrequently, from mere carriers, become merchants themselves.

Men who are accustomed to a settled abode, and dwell in cities, are not at all fit for a caravan life, constantly upon the move. In Arabia, therefore, as well as in Africa, these trading communities are formed by the nomad pastoral tribes, of which the greater part of those distant countries are full[1]. These by their mode of life are not only best adapted to it, but possess in their herds, their camels, and other beasts of burden, the only means of carrying it on. It was thus that the merchandise of the Sabeans was conveyed to Arabia Felix by the Nabatii and the Midianites; it was thus that the Carthaginian caravans were formed by Lotophagi and Nasamones; and thus it is, in the present day, that those from Tripoli to Cairo are formed by the inhabitants of Fezzan. It is not then a mere fanciful, fleeting hypothesis, but is founded on the nature of things, that this must also have

[1] See above, p. 186.

been the case in Ethiopia: we already know that these regions were also occupied by vast numbers of wandering pastoral tribes, and we find some faint traces in antiquity, which makes the matter still clearer.

The nations who dwelt to the west of Meroë along the banks of the Astaspus, tribes of Agows and Bejahs, could not be unknown in Egypt, which they must have frequented. They occasionally spoke there of the river on which they dwelt, and maintained it to be the proper Nile. Diodorus obtained this information from their own mouths[r]; and they could not well have made this long journey except in the train of a caravan. There is still more evidence to prove that the inhabitants of the eastern mountains, the Troglodytæ, and their neighbours the Ichthyophagi, were engaged in this calling; they were indeed so well acquainted with the route to the most distant parts of Africa, that Cambyses chose them for the spies, which he sent under the form of an embassy to the Macrobians. This could scarcely be the first time of their journeying to this nation, as they were already able to speak their language.

This eastern ridge, its inhabitants, and its productions, have been for a long time known in Egypt. Even Herodotus could describe them as far as the straits of Babelmandel; for he not

[r] DIODORUS, i, p. 45. The Agows appear on the monument of Adule.

only points out very accurately its direction, but also knew, that where it ended on the south the land of frankincense begun[s]. This is the region extending from Azab to Cape Guardefui; consequently, the country of the Somaulies. And here again the statements of the Greeks are confirmed by the accounts of recent British travellers[t]. This accurate knowledge presupposes mutual intercourse, and the conjecture therefore is highly probable, that the nomad inhabitants of these regions composed for the most part the caravans, which journeyed from Egypt to Ethiopia, and again from Ethiopia to northern Africa and Arabia Felix. This is exactly the case in the present day. The caravans which trade between Egypt and Abyssinia are now, and have been from time immemorial, composed of the Bejas and Ababdés, who at this time occupy the mountains and part of Nubia[u].

These nomads, however, were scarcely ever anything more than mere carriers of merchandise; no wealthy tribes being found among them. They appear in this character in the pageants, which Ptolemey Philadelphus gave at his accession to the throne, when, among other shows, the procession of an Arabic-Ethiopian caravan was exhibited[x]. "There came a

[s] Herod. ii, 8. [t] See above, p. 330.

[u] *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii, p. 269.

[x] Athen. p. 201; Bruce, i, p. 432, etc. gives an ample account of these armed herdsmen. It is known that the caravans of the nomad tribes

train of camels, carrying three hundred pounds of frankincense, crocus, cassia, and cinnamon, together with two hundred pounds of other costly spices and drugs. These were followed by a host of Ethiopians armed with lances; one band of these bore six hundred elephants' teeth, another two thousand pieces of ebony, and another sixty vessels of gold, silver, and gold dust." Notwithstanding the part which these nomads took in conducting it, the trade itself still remained in the hands of the inhabitants of Meroë and Axum, who carried it on by their foreign settlements; and these places still remain, what nature herself has appointed them, the great marts for the southern commerce.

Thus the great conclusion, so interesting and important for human nature and its history, becomes in a manner forced upon us: THE FIRST SEATS OF COMMERCE WERE ALSO THE FIRST SEATS OF CIVILIZATION. Exchange of merchandise led to exchange of ideas, and by this mutual friction was first kindled the sacred flame of humanity.

That this civilization of the Ethiopians,—that is of the ruling priest-caste—was bound to their religion is easily shown. Some scientific knowledge must indisputably have been connected with it, else the erection of those

as now from the Ababdés, take escorts. According, however, to another reading of Athenæus (*δωροφόροι* instead of *δορυφόροι*), they were present-bearing Ethiopians.

monuments would have been impossible. But the high attainments in science which some would bestow upon them rests upon no solid foundation[y]. None of the ancients has made them philosophers or astronomers; although the latter science could not have remained altogether concealed to a nation, who were wont to spend the greater part of their lives in journeys across the deserts, where the stars of the firmament could be their only guide, and whose climate brought a more regular change of weather and seasons than we are accustomed to. Diodorus certainly derives the civilization of the Egyptians in general from Ethiopia[z], but I cannot perceive how this can be true, unless in a very limited sense; and though its first germe might perhaps have shot forth there, the fruit did not ripen till transplanted into Egypt.

From the express testimony of this writer, we learn that the Ethiopians possessed the art of writing[a]; not, however, alphabetical characters, but merely picture-writing, a proof of which is still preserved upon the ruins of Meroë[b]; and from this passage the first invention of it has been attributed to them. Criticism may fairly dispute this point, the

[y] See PLESSING, *Memnonium*, i, p. 341, etc.

[z] DIODORUS, i, p. 174, 175. [a] Ibid. i, p. 176.

[b] Hieroglyphic inscriptions are found as well in the vestibule of the pyramids at Assur, especially in the sanctuary, CAILLAUD, plate, xli, xlii, as in the principal temple at Naga, CAILLAUD, plate XX, *Explications*; they cannot however be copied.

truth or falsehood of which it is equally impossible to prove. The invention of this kind of writing would be nowhere more easy than among a people with so decided a bias for the pictorial arts; nor the use and perfectioning of it more natural, than in a state whose government, next to religion, was founded upon trade.

A very interesting fact however is recorded by Diodorus; namely, that the knowledge of picture-writing in Ethiopia was not a privilege confined solely to the caste of priests as in Egypt, but that every one might attain it, as freely as they might in Egypt the writing in common use. Ought not this general use of it to be regarded as a powerful proof of its being applied to the purposes of trade? A great commercial nation altogether without writing surely could never exist; and however deficient hieroglyphics might be for the multifarious wants of our trade, yet it seems quite adequate for all the purposes of the caravan trade, whose regular course and simple merchandise demanded but few accounts.

The piety and justice of the Ethiopians, the fame of which spread to the most distant regions, even to the Greeks, requires little explanation! They are the first virtues which would be cultivated in a nation whose government was established by religion and commerce, and not by violence and oppression.

The progress this nation had made in architecture, and, to a certain degree, in the pictorial

arts, is still one of the greatest problems, though one of the greatest certainties. The ruins of those colossal monuments, more or less preserved, still lie there, and will remain the everlasting proofs of the awful magnificence of their architecture.

It is however one of the worst of errors, into which we but too frequently fall, to consider ourselves as the standard of what is, or can be done by other nations, in other countries, and under other circumstances. Is it necessary that the band between science, architecture, and the plastic arts, should everywhere be as closely knit together as it is with us? Might not mechanical dexterity and handicraft be carried to a high degree of perfection on their own account alone? Is it not possible then that the powerful vigour of a nation might be drawn by circumstances to concentrate itself upon one point; and in that way might here have produced works which to us seem supernatural? Was not indeed the connection between scientific and artificial improvement, in our own country, very different in the middle ages, when our forefathers erected those lofty domes which we still gaze at but cannot imitate, much less than it is at present?

But with all these changes in particulars, how little, taken as a whole, do the nations of Africa differ from what they were. Temples and sanctuaries seem always to have been the object of their trading journeys, as they are in

the present day. About those obelisks lodged at one time the caravans, pilgrimizing to the temples of Ammon, which now journey to the Caaba of the prophet at Mecca. The hand of time may still loosen here the tie between trade and religion, but to dissolve it is impossible.

And thus then we leave the ruins of Nubia and Meroë, the sacred monuments of the earliest humanity! Under their shade its fruit once ripened, a fruit indeed only such as this soil could bear, but which in a more congenial climate mellowed into a softer and fairer form. It prospered better transplanted into the more fertile plains of Egypt. Bend we then from these sterile sands, that we may there survey it ameliorated and improved, again sprouting forth from a similar germe.

APPENDIX.

I. *Aristotle upon the Carthaginian Government.*

(Aristot. Politica, ii, 11.)

The government of the Carthaginians seems to have been admirably adjusted, and in many things superior to others. This is especially the case in those matters in which it agrees with the Spartan. For these three governments, the Spartan, Cretan, and Carthaginian, bear a resemblance to one another, and are very different from all others: many of their institutions are excellent. But a proof of this being a well constituted government is, that the people continued within the limits assigned them, without any act of sedition worth notice, nor did the government become tyrannical. The Carthaginian government also had, like the Spartan, common tables for the associates; it also resembled it in having its council of one hundred and four, similar to the Ephori at Sparta, but superior to it; for every one might attain to this dignity at Sparta, but at Carthage, only the most worthy were elected. Again, the kings and the gerusia resembled

those of Sparta, but were again superior; as the kings are not chosen from one family, neither from any one. But distinguished merit is preferred (and justly) to age and every other claim. For as the kings have the management of the most important affairs, it cannot fail to be hurtful to choose men to that dignity, who have not the capacity fitted for it; the state of Sparta has already suffered from this cause. Most of the faults common to the above-mentioned governments have sprung from deviations (from the legal forms). With respect, however, to those principles which pertain to an aristocracy or republic, some of them incline towards a democracy, but others to an oligarchy. For the king and the senators have the power to determine, respecting those matters upon which they are unanimous, whether they shall be brought before the people or not; but where they do not agree the matter is referred to the people. And upon what is thus brought before the people, they have the power not only to decide, but every one is free to speak against it, which is not allowed in other governments. But the *pentarchies*, who many and great affairs have to transact, choose one another, and also the council of the hundred, who form the highest magistracy; they also continue longer in office than any others (for it commences before they enter into that office, and continues after they leave it), and in this the government is oligarchic. As, however,

they serve without pay, and are not elected by lot, and whatever else may be of this kind, is aristocratic. So also is the determining of all causes by the same magistrates, and not different causes before different tribunals, as is the case at Lacedæmon.

The Carthaginian government also leans, as many believe, in one respect towards an oligarchy; because it is there conceived that the magistrates should not be chosen merely on account of their personal merit, but also according to their property; for they say it is impossible for the needy to govern well and find sufficient leisure. Now because the choice according to property is oligarchic, and that according to personal merit aristocratic, there arises among the Carthaginians a third (middle) class of government; for they look to both these points in their choice, especially of the highest magistrates, their kings and generals. This degeneration of the aristocracy must be considered as a defect in the legislation; for it is highly necessary to see at the first, that the most worthy have leisure (for the affairs); and may do nothing indecorous either as magistrates, or as private persons. If, on the other hand, it be necessary to look to affluence for the sake of obtaining leisure, it is (still) a fault, as the highest offices, the dignity of king and general, are venal. For this custom raises wealth above personal merit, and makes the whole commonwealth given to avarice. For that which the

ruling classes hold to be honourable, will necessarily be so in the opinion of the other citizens. Where, however, merit is not especially honoured, it is impossible for an aristocracy to be firmly established. It is to be expected that those who purchase the magistracy will endeavour to enrich themselves by it; for it is absurd to suppose, that if a man, who is poor and worthy, be willing to enrich himself, that a depraved man should not be willing to do the same. Hence it is necessary that those should rule who are able to govern aristocratically. But it would have been better if the legislator had passed over the poverty of worthy men, and had paid attention to the leisure of those who hold offices. It would also seem to be a bad thing that one and the same person should hold several offices, which by the Carthaginians is held honourable; for one business is best performed by one person. The legislator, therefore, should have a care to this, and not appoint the same person to be a piper and cobbler. Where, then, the commonwealth is not small, it is more politic and more popular to permit many persons to have a share in the government; for it is better and more usual, as has been already said, that one thing should be done by one person; it is also executed more rapidly. This is also evident in many things pertaining to the army and navy, in which every one, as I may say, is commander, and, in his turn, under command. As the go-

vernment of the Carthaginians inclines to the oligarchical, they avoid the bad effects of it, as they always enrich a portion of the people whom they appoint to the government of the cities. For they thereby escape the evil and make their government lasting. This is certainly a chance means; but states should by the laws be secure from seditions; but now, if an adverse fortune takes place, and the people revolt from their rulers, the law affords no remedy by which peace may be restored. In this manner, therefore, the celebrated governments of the Cretans, Spartans, and Carthaginians, are carried on.

II. *Commercial treaty between Rome and Carthage, concluded in the year 509 B. C.*[a]

(From Polyb. i, p. 434.)

Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail

[a] I subjoin the following extracts,—which we might call Carthaginian documents—not merely because I have so often referred to them in these inquiries, but, rather, because I believe they illustrate much better the spirit of Carthage, than a long winded commentary would do. The first two are also highly important in Roman history. They relate to the younger days of Rome, ere this city domineered over all Latium; the first treaty was concluded a year after the expulsion of the kings, and the other one hundred and sixty-one years later. They both show us Rome in a somewhat different character from what Livy and other historians are wont to represent it.

beyond the *Fair Promontory*[b], unless compelled by bad weather or an enemy. And in case

[b] The *Fair Promontory* is accurately pointed out by Polybius himself to be the promontory lying north of Carthage (τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῆς τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους), and cannot, therefore, well be any other than that which is elsewhere called the *Promontorium Hermæum*. (Compare the treatise of HEYNE, in *Opusc.* ii, p. 47, where the other passages are collected, upon which some wished to decide upon another situation.) The authority of Polybius in this case is certainly superior to later writers. The sense therefore is: "The Romans shall not sail to the south of this promontory, along the coast of the Carthaginian territory, towards the Lesser Syrtis;" where a number of cities, and the most beautiful and fertile part of their possessions, especially in Byzacium, were situated. It is thus explained by Polybius, and this explanation will seem so much the more probable, if what has been already said be borne in mind, that just in these districts were the staples for the trade with inner Africa. The only difficulty in this passage arises from the cities of *Tarseium* and *Mastia* being named in the *second* treaty together with this promontory. Now no cities of this name are known in the territory of Carthage, but only in the south-west of Spain, near Tartessus. (See STEPH. *de Urb.* under Ταρσῆιον and Μαστια.) But supposing that these cities are here meant, it does not then follow, that the Fair Promontory was situated near them, and to be sought for in Spain; (for HEYNE, *Opusc.* i, p. 61, has already very properly remarked, that the words of Polybius, πρόσκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ καλῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ Μάστια καὶ Ταρσήϊον, must not be translated, "but near the Fair Promontory lies Mastia and Tarseium," but rather, "to the Fair Promontory is added Mastia and Tarseium;") but the sense would then be, "beyond the Fair Promontory, on the one side, namely towards the east, and beyond the cities of Mastia and Tarseium on the other, namely towards the west, in the Atlantic ocean, the Romans shall not sail," etc. This explanation must still gain in probability if the great value be remembered which the Carthaginians placed upon their western possessions without the Pillars of Hercules, and the great secret they made of them. The objection, that the Romans at the time of this treaty, did not navigate so far, seems to me to have but very little weight; for how do we know that? And then, it was about the period that this alliance was concluded, that the Carthaginians had stretched out the farthest, and it seems that they had extended their colonies beyond the Pillars, exactly in the interval between the first and second treaty, which explains why these cities came to be mentioned as the boundaries in the second treaty, and not in the first. On the other hand, it certainly may be objected, that this sense is not expressed with sufficient clearness in the words of the treaty; according to the strict sense of which it is more probable, that there were two, to us unknown, cities of this name

that they are forced beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase any thing, except what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifice. They shall depart within five days. The merchants that shall offer any goods to sale in Sardinia, or any part of Libya, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the scribe and crier; and the public faith shall be a security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the presence of these officers. If a Roman lands in that part of Sicily which belongs to the Carthaginians, he shall suffer no wrong or violence in any thing. The Carthaginians shall not offer any injury to the people of *Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Tarracina,* or any other people of the Latins that have submitted to the Roman jurisdiction. Nor shall they possess themselves of any city of the Latins that is not subject to the Romans. If any one of these be taken, it shall be delivered to the Romans in its entire state. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortress in the Latin territory; and if they land there armed they shall not remain there a night.

in the Carthaginian territory, near the Fair Promontory, where there certainly were a much greater number of cities than is generally supposed. It may still, however, be, that the translation of the treaty by Polybius might not be so literally exact, but that a mere trifling variation might render the reference to the cities of Spain probable. Nothing, therefore, can be here concluded with certainty; and by mere verdicts without evidence nothing would be done.

III. *Second commercial treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage, in the year 348 B. C.*

(From Polyb. i, p. 437.)

Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians[c], Uticeans, and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. The Romans shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffic, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city of the Latins, not subjected to the Romans, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If the Carthaginians shall make any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written treaty, with the Romans, though they are not the subjects of their empire, they shall not bring them into the Roman ports; in case they do so, the Romans shall be allowed to claim, and set them free. The same condition shall also be observed by the Romans; and if a Roman lands, in search of water or provisions, upon any country that is subject to the Carthaginians, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart, without

[c] It is not probable that the Tyre in Asia should here be understood. Either there must have been a Tyre in Africa, or Tysdrus must be meant. See above p. 44. If, notwithstanding this, some will still contend that the Phœnician Tyre must be understood; then, perhaps, the mutual piety which mother states and their colonies observe towards one another, may be given as the reason why Tyre was included in the treaty.

offering any violence to the allies and friends of Carthage. The breach of these conditions shall not be resented as a private injury, but be prosecuted as the public cause of either people. The Romans shall not carry on any trade, or build any city in Sardinia or Libya: nor shall they even visit those countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their ships. If they are driven upon them by a storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of Sicily which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expose their goods to sale, and do every thing that is permitted to the citizens of the republic. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the Carthaginians at Rome.

IV. *Treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Philip king of Macedonia, in the fourth year of the second Punic war, 215 B. C.*[d]

(From Polyb. ii, p. 598.)

This is the treaty which Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that were with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have sworn with Xenophanes, the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip,

[d] Hannibal was at this time in Lower Italy, and hoped by this union with Philip, who was to invade Italy by crossing the Adriatic sea, to annihilate Rome.

the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Poseidon; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the lakes, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who direct the affairs of war, and who are witnesses of this faith!

Hannibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said; with the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and of concord shall connect us together, as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:

King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them, shall protect and help the people of Carthage, Hannibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica, and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway, together with their armies and their allies; the

cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into friendship and alliance with us in those countries.

The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all the other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and of Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance in any of those parts of Italy; shall protect and defend king Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you, the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are enemies of the Carthaginians; those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by any treaty. And we also, on the other hand, will be the enemies of those that are enemies of king Philip; those kings, and cities and nations alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war, in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy peace. You shall supply us with

the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them, we shall insist, that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace be made upon these expressed conditions: that the Romans shall at no time make war against us: that they shall not remain masters of Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimalle, and Atintania. And that they shall restore also to Demetrius of Pharos, all the persons of his kindred, who are now detained in public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war either against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against us; those cities and states alone excepted, with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it should be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent.

V. *The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which he deposited in the temple of Saturn.*

It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the

Pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-Phœnician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessaries.

When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city which we named Thymiaterium. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis, a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune; and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea. and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great number of other wild beasts, were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Caricon-ticos, and Gytte, and Acra, and Melitta, and Arambys. Thence we came to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitæ dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytæ, men of various appearances, whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them, we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars, was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

We then came to a lake, which we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes. This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne; from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men, clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence we came to another river, that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles, and river horses; whence returning back we came again to Cerne.

Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitæ, who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense

opening of the sea; on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain; from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn. In this was a large island, and in the island a salt-water lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed, we could discover nothing in the daytime except trees; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island. Sailing quickly away thence we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn; at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of

savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.

Observation. The opinions respecting the Periplus of Hanno differ very widely from one another, both as regards its authenticity and the circumstances attending it. I cannot, however, believe that any critic will, in the present day, doubt its authenticity in the whole; though they may its integrity. Its shortness has led many to suppose that it is only the abridgment of a larger work: and this opinion is favoured by RENNEL, and seems confirmed by the passage in PLINY, *Hist. Nat.* ii, 67, where he says: Hanno sailed from Gades round Africa to Arabia, and has given a description of the voyage. But another writer has already justly observed, that Pliny had not himself read the Periplus, but depended on the uncertain testimony of another; and that the passage of POMP. MELA, iii, 9, clearly shows that Mela had read *our* Periplus. GOSSELIN, *Recherches*, i, p. 64. The Periplus was not, certainly, the description of a voyage, in our sense of the phrase, but a public memorial of the expedition, being an *inscription* posted up in one of the principal temples of Carthage. This is evident: *first*, from its being a general custom of the Carthaginian commanders to leave behind them such public monuments of their enterprises, which is shown by the example of Hannibal, see p. 256 of this volume; and *secondly*, by the

superscription of the Periplus itself. It is there called: "Αννωνος Περίπλους ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει. "The voyage of Hanno, which he has *posted up* in the temple of Kronos." For so must ἀνέθηκεν be translated, which is well known to be the proper expression among the Greeks for the Donarii in the temples; on which account they were called ἀναθήματα. This inscription was, without doubt, in the Carthaginian language. We, however, have only the Greek translation, whose author is unknown. It is therefore highly probable that it was a Greek traveller, perhaps a merchant, who made a translation for his own use; and we know what a series of accidents must have happened to bring down to us this curious document, being the personal narrative of the commander of the first voyage of discovery on the western African coast, about five hundred years before Christ! To this translator, therefore, must be attributed, in my opinion, any irregularities in its form and contents; they can not however justify us in deciding that there are any interpolations.

The more early commentators upon the Periplus are, Bochart, *in Geograph. Sacr.* i, 33; Campomanes in his *Antig. Maritima de Carthago,* vol. ii; Dodwell in *Dissert.* I. *in Geograph. Min.* ed. Hudson, vol. i, and Bouguainville, *Mémoires sur les descouvertes d'Hanno,* in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions,* tom. xxvi, xxviii, all of whom make the navigation of Hanno reach to the coast of Guinea. Besides these, two of our most celebrated geographers have, more recently, bestowed considerable labour upon the Periplus, but differ in a remarkable manner in their conclusions: i. e. Gosselin, in his *Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens;* and Major Rennel in his *Geography of Herodotus.* The former of these so shortens the voyage of Hanno, as to make the island Cerne the most southern of the settlements he planted, the present Fedalla, which is found under 33½° N. lat., while Rennel so extends it, as to place this island about thirteen degrees farther south, under 20½° N. lat.; this difference naturally occasions a great discrepancy in the boundary of the more distant navigation, which Gosselin carries no farther than Cape Nun, in 28° N. lat., while Rennel extends it to Sierra Leone, within eight degrees of the equator. This dif-

ference of reckoning is easily accounted for, from Hanno's having stated the distances according to the number of days' sail. The calculation of Gosselin, however, is founded upon hypotheses to which but few critics will be inclined to assent. First, he would have it, that the expression *without the Columns* must include the strait itself, because the Columns of Hercules signify the two rocks Calpe and Abyla at the inner entrance of the strait. In accordance with this he computes from this point, and not only places the city of Thymiaterium within the strait, near the present Ceuta, but also holds the promontory Soloë, which it cost Hanno two days' navigation without the Columns to reach, for Cape Spartel, forming the outward part of the strait on the African coast. But the expression, *the Columns*, is not usually meant so much of the rocks, as of the strait in general; and the national resolution of the Carthaginians, that Hanno should found colonies "without the Columns," certainly could bear no other sense, than that he should plant settlements on the western coast of Africa, in the Atlantic ocean; nay, the following cities, according to M. Gosselin's own statements, lay there. Secondly, M. Gosselin proposes a computation, by following which, a day's sail will amount to no more than five great leagues or sea miles (20=1°). For as when Cooke sailed along the eastern coast of New Holland he could not make more than seventeen leagues in twenty-four hours, we ought not to allow to Hanno, who lay by during the night, and had a whole fleet in company, more than five such leagues a day. This comparison, however, is very little to the purpose. Cooke sailed along a coast of which he wished to draw an accurate map, while his progress was interrupted by the numerous coral reefs with which it was beset, and which compelled him to have constant recourse to the plumb line. Hanno had no such hindrances, and sailed in a climate where the trade winds and currents, both known to come from the north, were in his favour. M. Gosselin stands also opposed to the express authority of the most creditable ancient writers, who state the day's navigation to be much greater; namely, Herodotus (iv, 86) at seven hundred stadia, sixty-eight geographical miles, and Scylax (p. 30) at five hundred stadia, [illegible]

geographical miles. These hypotheses then of M. Gosselin being erroneous, his particular statements drawn from them, of course lose their credit. Major Rennel, on the other hand, in my opinion, makes Hanno's voyage extend somewhat too far. I will not however here dispute his statements in detail, nor attempt a proper commentary upon the Periplus, which without maps, drawn expressly for the purpose, would not be understood. I shall, instead of these, make a few general remarks, which I think will serve as general principles to explain it. Therefore:

1. It must not be expected that every point can be determined with certainty, as the author himself has not always stated the number of days' navigation, and consequently not the distance. Besides this, we have not yet, in my opinion, any sufficiently accurate description of the coast of this part of Africa, that can serve us for a guide. The reader will therefore necessarily be satisfied with some of the principal particulars.

2. In order to obtain these, we must separate the two great parts of the voyage, which had a double object; first, that of founding colonies, and these, as is apparent from the fact, not far beyond the straits; and secondly, that of exploring the more distant coast of Africa. According to this, therefore, the length of the day's voyage in the first and latter part of the expedition, though similar in all other respects, might not be the same; for the first part was performed with a whole heavy-laden fleet; the second, without doubt, with one or two vessels. The first part of the voyage extends to the island Cerne, the second to the gulf called South Horn.

3. In the first half we come to *a*. the city of Thymiaterium, 5 days' voyage from the end of the strait, or Cape Spartel. Let us take the day's navigation here with the whole fleet at but ten sea miles—according to the above remarks a very moderate distance—then must this city be near El Haratch, between El Haratch and Marmora; this cannot be far from their true situation. *b*. The promontory Soloë; Hanno does not say how far this was from Thymiaterium; but it is plain from his narrative that it must have been the first main promontory he came to. Herodotus also clears up

this, who not only knew it, but quotes it as the most western point of Africa, Herod. ii, 32. From this I have no doubt of its being Cape Blanco, near Azimur, 33° N. lat. (not to be confounded with the southern Cape Blanco, 20° N. lat.) which they would reach, according to the above calculation, in two days' voyage from Thymiaterium; and I prefer this on he above grounds to Cape Cantin, which is one day farther to the south, and therefore adopted by Rennel. c. The successive settlements of Acra, Gytte, Caricontícos, Melitta, and Arambys, lay at about a day and half's sail from the promontory; they must therefore have stood in the districts of Safy, or Asafy, just beyond Cape Cantin, about 32° N. lat. The great river Lixitæ, at which they next arrived, would then be the river Morocco (on which is built the city of the same name), or, as it is called, the Tersif. From this point to the island of Cerne, the last of the settlements, the number of days' navigation is not stated; hence the conclusion that the voyage from the Columns to Cerne, may have been just as long as that from Carthage to the Columns. If the distances be judged equal, then the island of Cerne must be sought for beyond Cape Bojador, where it is placed by Major Rennel, under 20° N. lat. I cannot, however, believe, that in the same length of time they would make the same way, as from Carthage to the Pillars they navigated a well-known sea, where they had no obstructions, and might sail as well by night as by day; but, beyond the Pillars, in a sea of which they were entirely ignorant, much more circumspection was necessary. I think it therefore more probable, that the island or islands of Cerne, must be sought for either near Mogador, 31½°, or near Santa Cruz, 30½°. But though the situation of this place remains rather uncertain, there cannot be any great error in determining that of the others.

4. The second part of the expedition, starting from Cerne, is simply a voyage of discovery, and must as such be considered. This was, however, a double voyage. The first time, Hanno proceeded southwards, and came to a great river, full of crocodiles and hippopotamus. The number of days this occupied is not mentioned, but as no such river is found short of the Senegal, I hold that to be the one meant. From this

point the expedition returned, from causes not stated, back to the island of Cerne; but it commenced from this place the second voyage, in which the number of days' navigation is mostly, though not always noted; namely, first twelve days' voyage along the coast till they came to high mountains; then two days' voyage to a bay, where they took in water; then five days' navigation farther, till they came to another bay, which was named the West Horn; together nineteen days' voyage. After this the expedition proceeded along the hot region of Thymiamata, without determining the number of days' navigation. Then four days' voyage to the high mountain called *God's Chariot;* and then again three days more to the bay called South Horn, whence they turned back. If we now allow four days for the voyage along the country of Thymiamata, the whole will make a voyage of thirty-one days from Cerne. Now, as in this whole voyage the current as well as the wind was always favourable to the navigators, as will be found noted upon Rennel's maps, it certainly is a very moderate computation, to estimate a day's navigation at forty geographical miles = $12\frac{1}{2}$ sea miles, which makes the whole distance from Cerne amount to 1200 geographical miles. Taking the island of Cerne to be near Santa Cruz, this will bring us to the mouth of the Gambia, and it seems a fair conjecture that the bay called South Horn was in fact the mouth of this river, and the West Horn that of the Senegal. It is well known that the Greeks called the mouths of rivers their horns. If this be granted, then the computed distance leads at once to the coast of Senegambia, which I take for the hot country of Thymiamata, and Major Rennel has already so validly shown, that all the particulars related exactly correspond with this conjecture, that it would be superfluous thereupon to dwell any longer. Against M. Gosselin, to whom this voyage appears much too long, I will only oppose the single fact which I have already set forth at page 175, but which has escaped his observation, that in the time of Herodotus the Carthaginians had a regular intercourse by sea with the Gold-coast, to which Hanno's voyage of discovery probably first paved the way.

VI. *Fragments of the Account given by the Carthaginian commander Himilco, of the countries of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules.*

Taken from RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS, *Ora Maritima*, ed. WERNSDORF, *Poetæ Latini Minores*, tom. v, p. 3.

Besides the expedition of Hanno, another was fitted out at the same time, and sent, for the same purpose, to the western coast of Europe. A narrative also of this voyage, similar to that of Hanno's, was extant in antiquity, but unfortunately has not descended to us. Festus Avienus, however, made use of it in the above-mentioned metrical composition, which was drawn up by him for the instruction of his relation Probus. The poem is only valuable from its bringing us acquainted with many ancient geographers, but is come down to us in a very imperfect state; and almost seems to have been rather a collection of materials, than a finished poem. It is deficient in order; contains many repetitions, and the author does not appear to have had a clear notion of the coast which he describes. See the notice of it by PROFESSOR UKERT (which is rendered more valuable by a map), in † *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Th. ii, *Abth.* i, the second Appendix. I have extracted only those passages which relate to the document of Hanno and Carthage.

[e] PLINY, ii, 67. Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilcon.

I. *Ora Maritima*, v. 80—130.

Terræ patentis orbis effuse jacet,
Orbique rursus unda circumfunditur
Sed qua profundum semet insinuat salum
Oceano ab usque, ut gurges hic nostri maris
Longe explicetur, est Atlanticus sinus.
Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius :
Hic sunt Columnæ pertinacis Herculis,
Abila atque Calpe : * * * *
* * * * * * * *
Et prominentis hic jugi surgit caput,
(Œstrymnin istud dixit ævum antiquius)
Molesque celsa saxei fastigii
Tota in tepentem maxime vergit notum.
Sub hujus autem prominentis vertice
Sinus dehiscit incolis Œstrymnicus,
In quo insulæ sese exserunt Œstrimnides,
Laxe jacentes, et metallo divites
Stanni atque plumbi, muta vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia

Ora Maritima, v. 80—130.

Where the ocean flood presses in, and spreads wide the Mediterranean waters, lies the Atlantic bay[f]; here stands Gadira, of old called Tartessus; here the Pillars of Hercules, Abyla, left of Libya, and Calpe[g]. ***** Here rises the head of the promontory, in olden times named Œstrymnon[h], and below, the like-named bay and isles[i]; wide they stretch and are rich in metals, tin, and lead. There a numerous race of men dwell, endowed with spirit, and no slight industry,

[f] The bay between Cape Vincent and Trafalgar.

[g] Something is here probably left out, as he likewise mentions a second bay.

[h] The promontory of *Œstrymnon* must be sought for on the north coast of Spain. We may take it for *Cap Finis Terræ*, or some other; for how can an accurate statement be expected, where the poet himself seems to have had but a very confused idea of the subject?

[i] Sinus Œstrymnicus, et Insulæ Œstrymnides.

Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus :
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant.
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere,
Acereve norunt, non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant faselos : sed rei ad miraculum
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.
Ast hinc duobus in sacram (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est.
Hæc inter undas multam cespitem jacet,
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
Tartessiisque in terminos Œstrymnidum
Negotiandi mos erat : Carthaginis
Etiam coloni, et vulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora :
Quæ Himilco Pænus mensibus vix quatuor,
Ut ipse semet re probasse retulit
Enavigantem, posse transmitti adserit.
Sic nulla late flabra propellunt ratem,
Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri stupet,
Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter gurgites
Exstare fucum, et sæpe virgulti vice
Retinere puppim. Dicit hic nihilominus,
Non in profundum terga demitti maris,

busied all in the cares of trade alone. They navigate the sea on their barks, built not of pines or oak, but wondrous! made of skins and leather. Two days' long is the voyage thence to the Holy Island, once so called, which lies expanded on the sea, the dwelling of the Hibernian race: at hand lies the isle of Albion[k]. Of yore the trading voyages from Tartessus reached to the Œstrimnides; but the Carthaginians and their colonies near the Pillars of Hercules, navigated on this sea, which Himilco, by his own account, was upon during four months;

[k] These statements clearly show, that the *Œstrymnide* islands were situate in the neighbourhood of *Hibernia* and *Albion*, they only agree with the Scilly islands, which are eighty miles from the Irish coast.

Parvoque aquarum vix supertexi solum;
Obire semper huc et huc ponti feras,
Navigia lenta et languide repentia
Internatare belluas.

II. v. 263—274.

——————————Namque ex ea
Geryona quondam nuncupatum accepimus.
Hic ora late sunt sinus Tartessii;
Dictoque ab amni in hæc locorum puppibus
Via est diei: Gaddir hic est oppidum:
Nam Punicorum lingua conceptum locum
Gaddir vocabat, ipsa Tartessus prius
Cognominata est; multa et opulens civitas
Ævo vetusto, nunc egena, nunc brevis,
Nunc destituta, nunc ruinarum agger est.
Nos hoc locorum, præter Herculaneam
Sollennitatem, vidimus miri nihil.

III. v. 304—317.

Gerontis arcem et prominens fani, ut supra
Sumus elocuti distinet medium Salum;

for here no wind wafted the bark, so motionless stood the indolent wave. Sea-weed abounds in this sea, he says, and retards the vessel in her course; while the monsters of the deep swarm around.

II. v. 263—274.

——Far off is seen Geryon's hold; here wide expands the bay of Tartessus, and from the river thither is one day's voyage; here lies the town of Gadira, of yore called Tartessus; then great and rich, now poor and fallen; where I saw nought great but Hercules' festival.

III. v. 304—317.

Geryon's fort and temple overtops the sea; a line of rocks crowns the bay: near the second rock disembogues the river.

Interque celsa cautium cedit sinus.
Jugum ad secundum flumen amplum evolvitur:
Tartessiorum mons dehinc attollitur
Silvis opacus, hinc Erythea est insula
Diffusa glebam, et juris olim Punici:
Habuere primo quippe eam Carthaginis
Priscæ coloni: interflusque scinditur
Ad continentem quinque per stadia modo
Erythea ab arce, qua diei occasus est,
Veneri marinæ consecrata est insula,
Templumque in illa Veneris et penetral cavum,
Oraculumque.

IV. v. 375—412.

Ultra has Columnas, propter Europæ latus,
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam: mos at ollis hic erat,
Ut planiore texerent fundo rates,
Quo cymba tergum fusior brevius maris
Prælaberetur, porro in occiduam plagam
Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta,
Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit,

Close by rises the Tartessus' mount bedecked with wood. Next follows the island Erythea, ruled by the Carthaginians, for in early days the Carthaginians had there planted a colony. The arm of the sea, which divides it from the continent and from the fort, is but five stadia broad[l]. The island is sacred to Marine Venus, it contains her temple and oracle[m].

IV. v. 375—412.

Beyond the Pillars, on Europe's coast, Carthage's people of yore possessed many towns and places. Their practice was

[l] Therefore a small inlet near Tartessus, like the opposite coast; perhaps St. Pedro, opposite Chicklana.

[m] Probably Astarte: see above, p. 140.

Desint quod alto flabra propellentia,
Nullusque puppim spiritus cœli juvet:
Dehinc quod æthram quodam amictu vestiat
Caligo, semper nebula condat gurgitem,
Et crassiore nubilum præstet die.
Oceanus iste est, orbis effusi procul
Circum latrator, iste pontus maximus.
Hic gurges oras ambiens, hic intimi
Salis inrigator, hic parens nostri maris.
Plerosque quippe extrinsecus curvat sinus,
Nostrumque in orbem vis profundi illabitur,
Sed nos loquemur maximos tibi quattuor.
Prima hujus ergo in cespitem insinuatio est
Hesperius æstus, atque Atlanticum salum;
Hyrcana rursus unda, Caspium mare;
Salum Indicorum, terga fluctus Persici;
Arabsque gurges sub tepente jam Noto.
Hunc usus olim dixit Oceanum vetus,
Alterque dixit mos Atlanticum mare.
Longo explicatur gurges hujus Ambitu,
Produciturque latere prolixe vago,
Plerumque porro tenue tenditur salum,
Ut vix arenas subjacentes occulat.
Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus frequens,
Atque impeditur æstus hîc uligine;
Vis belluarum pelagus omne internatat,
Multusque terror ex feris habitat freta.

to build flat-bottomed barks, for the convenience of navigating shallows; but westward, as Himilco tells us, is open sea; no ship has yet ventured on this sea, where the windy gales do not waft her, and thick fogs rest on the waters. It is the ocean which far roars around the land; the unbounded sea.—This the Carthaginian Himilco saw himself; and from the Punic records I have taken what I tell thee.

To the Carthaginian documents also belongs a Punic inscription, which professor Hamacker of Leyden, *Diatribe aliquot monumentorum nuper in Africa repertorum interpretationem exhibens, Lugd. Bat.* 1822, refers to the vintage; but counsellor G. Kopp (Heidelberg Year-book, 1824), on the contrary, takes it, I think rightly, for an epitaph, and translates it: *Deploravit familia traditum (positum) dum operata est (intulit) ad lapidem nostrum. Baal Haman (Deus Solis) vos subjecit succidendo tempora. Lex (fatum) Hassad filium Abamel subjecit.* The inscription should be compared with that of Bres, published in *Malta Antica.* Another epitaph, given by bishop Munster, is so uncertain, that professor Kopp could form no judgment respecting it. It makes mention of a college of priests.

VII. *Fragments of the Works of Mago on Husbandry.*

(See above, p. 109.)

[I deem it advisable, on many accounts, to give here a collection of the fragments of the only works of Carthaginian literature of which any remains are extant. The information which may be deduced from them is very interesting. They plainly evince that agriculture was considered in Carthage as the most honourable employment, and was followed by the first men in the state. It farther appears that every branch of husbandry, and certainly with such helps to human industry as were

then known, was cultivated. It is also evident that the work of Mago was not the only one of this kind, as Hamilcar and the Carthaginian writers in general, are mentioned with him (No. 16). How much indeed must have been written previously, to complete a work like that of Mago's in twenty-eight books! Its value is sufficiently evident from the testimony of Columella, who calls Mago the *father of Husbandry*. Should some of his rules not seem convincing to our agriculturalists, it must be remembered that he wrote in Africa, and that therefore they cannot fairly judge of his works, without some knowledge of the soil and climate.

The name of Mago and Hamilcar were very common among the Carthaginians. Which Mago and Hamilcar are in this case to be understood, we are not informed; thus much, however, we know, they were both renowned generals, who devoted the leisure which their profession of arms left them, to agriculture. But that this Hamilcar was not the father of Hannibal, will be readily acknowledged by every one, who remembers that the latter must have passed the greater part of his life out of his native country. I think I do not err in taking this Mago, to be the same with the general, who first established the dominion of Carthage (JUSTIN, xix, 2), who was contemporary with Cyrus, and the founder of that house which for above a century stood at the head of the republic, and whose genealogy I have given in

the next appendix. Hamilcar, then, would be his son, and the same who fell in battle, 480 B. C. against Gelon in Sicily. And besides, if my conjecture, which I think highly probable, be admitted, that Hanno and Himilco, who founded colonies in Africa and Europe, and explored their coasts, were his sons, it will throw a stream of light upon the most brilliant period of Carthaginian history; and account for the aggrandizement of a state, with a family of heroes at its head, which, during three generations, gave it chiefs, illustrious for their deeds as generals, writers, and adventurers; and who with the noble simplicity of the truly great, and therein only faithful to their nature, returned to the ploughshare when their country no longer needed their services.]

I. From Varro *de Re Rustica*.

1. The worth *(nobilitas)* of the writers hitherto quoted, is eclipsed by Mago the Carthaginian, in the Punic language, as he comprised the subject in its various branches in twenty-eight books, which Cassius Dionysius of Utica, translated into Greek in twenty books, and sent to the pretor Sextius, whereto he added many things from the above-mentioned Greek writers, and omitted eight of the books of Mago. Diophanes brought these from Bithynia, in six books, and sent them to king Dejotarus. Varro, i, 1, 10.

2. Mago and Dionysius wrote, that mares and female mules do not bring forth till twelve months after they have been impregnated. VARRO, i, 1, 27.

3. Upon the health of black cattle I have borrowed a good deal from the books of Mago, which I make my herdsmen carefully read. VARRO, ii, 5, 18.

4. There are two sorts of feeding; one upon the lands for black cattle, the other in the farm-yard for poultry, doves, bees, etc. Of these Mago of Carthage and Cassius Dionysius have treated in several parts of their works. Sejus of Sicily seems to have read these, and to have drawn much information from them upon farming, as others also have upon the management of manors and estates in general. VARRO, iii, 2, 13.

II. From COLUMELLA *de Re Rustica.*

5. Diophanes from Bithynia has collected together, in six books, the whole of Dionysius of Utica, the translator of the Carthaginian Mago, whose works fill many volumes. COL. i, 1, 10.

6. But, in addition to those mentioned, we would honour above all, Mago the Carthaginian, the father of husbandry, whose twenty-eight

well-known books, in consequence of a *senatus consulti*, have been rendered into Latin. Col. i, 1, 13.

7. This I believe is what Mago the Carthaginian would express, who begins his work with the following sentence: "Who would buy an estate, let him sell his house, that he may no longer be encumbered with his town-house, but give himself up entirely to that upon his land. He to whom an abode in the city lies close at heart, has need of a country estate."

8. Democritus and Mago praise a north aspect for the vine; because they believe it bears most in this situation. But in goodness it will not surpass others. Col. iv, 12, 5.

9. In the planting of vines, let the sides of the trenches every now and then be lined with stones, which should not, however, be above five pounds' weight. For these, says Mago, keep out the wet in winter, and in the summer the moist and damp from the roots.—Even so this writer is of opinion, that the pressed out grapes, mixed with dung, strengthens the seed laid in the earth, because it draws new roots; but this in wet and cold weather warms at the proper time, and in summer nourishes the young vines, and makes them fruitful. If, however, the soil in which the vine is set be

poor, then must rich earth be found and put in the trenches. Col. iii, 15, 4, 5.

10. For the pruning of the vine once every two years suits very well. The best time, however, as Mago says, is the spring, before the shoots become long, because, being still full of sap, they may be easiest and most evenly cut, and they do not oppose the sickle. Col. iv, 10.

11. Mago the Carthaginian adds also to the rule for setting the vine: that the seed being planted, the trench should not be immediately filled up, but half of it left till the following year; by which, he says, the root of the plant is forced to strike downwards. Col. v, 5, 4.

12. In the purchase of cattle for the plough, there are certain rules for the farmer to attend to, which Mago the Carthaginian has thus laid down for his instruction. The steer should be young, strong, with large joints; long, blackish, and stiff horns; broad and curled forehead, rough ears, black eyes and lips, white and distended nostrils, long and bowed neck, white dewlap, which should hang down to the knees, a broad chest, strong hoofs, a spacious belly, extended sides, broad loins, exact and even pace, round buttocks, straight legs, not far asunder, and rather short than long, stiff knees, long and hairy tail, a short and thick head, red

or brown colour, and easy to catch. Col. vi, 1, 2, 3.

13. The castration of calves should be performed, according to Mago, while they are young, and not with an iron, but with a split rod, with which the testicles should be pressed together and gradually squashed. See farther in Col. vi, 26, 1, sqq.

14. Some writers, not to be passed by, as Cato, and before him Mago and Dionysius, mention, that the foaling of she-mules was so far from being considered a prodigy in Africa, that it was almost as common as that of mares. Col. iv, 37, 3.

15. Mago, as well as Democritus and Virgil, asserts, that in the belly of a slaughtered young cow, at certain times, bones are found. Mago asserts that it also happens in the paunch of oxen. Col. ix, 15, 3.

16. Some are of opinion, that among bees the ancient brood should be entirely destroyed, which I, referring to Mago, do not maintain. Col. ix, 15, 3.

17. History informs us that neither the Carthaginian or Greek writers (upon farming) nor even the Roman, have neglected to attend to small matters. For Mago the Carthaginian, and

Hamilcar, held it not beneath their dignity, when they were unoccupied by war, to contribute thereby their quota towards human life. Col. xii, 4, 2.

18. Mago gives directions for making the very best sort of wine *(passum optimum)*, as I myself have done. Take bunches of grapes, quite ripe, and well boiled; take away the dry or faulty parts; form a frame of stakes or forks, spreading thereon a layer of reeds; spread the grapes upon these, and place them in the sun, covering them at night from the dew. When they are dry, pluck off the berries, throw them in a cask, and make of them the first must. If they have well drained, put them the sixth day in a vessel, press them, and take the (first) wine. After adding thereto must, quite cold, the berries must be again pounded and pressed. The second wine may then be placed in a pitched vessel, lest it become sour. After twenty or thirty days, when it has fermented, clear it off into another vessel, whose cover must be immediately stopped close, and covered with a skin. Col. xii, 39, 1, 2.

19. Mago the Carthaginian directs, that the pomegranate should be dipped in hot water, then rubbed with flax or tow till they lose their colour; they are next to be dried in the sun for three days, and afterwards hung up in a cool place. Before being used they must be soaked

in cold spring water for a night or day. He also recommends that they should be smeared over, when fresh, with thick chalk, and hung up in a cool place; before using, steep them in water to get off the chalk. He also gives another method, which is to lay them by layers in a new earthen vessel, strewing saw-dust between every layer, till the vessel be full, then place on the cover, which must be carefully smeared over with thick glue. COL. xii, 44, 5, 6.

20. Mago recommends that the palm-tree should be planted in a dry soil, soon after the autumnal equinox, before the shortest day. COL. *de Arb.* 17, 1.

III. From PALLADIUS *de Re Rustica.*

21. Mago advises that the trench in which vines are planted, should not be filled up at once, but gradually, which causes the roots to strike the deeper. PALLAD. *Feb.* x, 3.

22. Mago gives instructions for the castration of calves, etc. (see above, No. 12). PALLAD. *Maj.* vii, 1.

IV. From the ΙΠΠΙΑΤΡΙΚΑ, *Basil*, 1538.

23. When a horse suffers from violent asthma (δύσπνοια) he draws in one side, his eyes

are dull, if not both, at least the right one, his mouth is hot, and he stumbles in his gait. This disease, if taken at the beginning, may with proper care be easily cured. Examine therefore closely, the shape of the horse; if he draws in his right side, he will be soon healed, but if he draws in the left it is a chance if he gets over it. One of his veins must be opened, and a draught administered composed of crocus, myrrh, nard, white pepper, pure honey, old oil, resin-oil (ἐλαίου ῥοδίνου), seethed together in honey water. *Medicinæ Veterinari*, lib. ii, p. 95.

V. From PLINII *Hist. Natural.*

24. Among the trees which are raised from kernels, Mago is particularly copious upon nuts. Almonds should be planted in soft loam, towards the south. They thrive best in hard, warm soils, in rich and damper ones they become unfruitful, or die. The best sort to plant are the sickle-formed, after they have been three days soaked in muddy water. They should be set with the top downwards; the sharp side towards the north: they are planted in triangles, a palm from each other; and should be watered every ten days till they become of a good size. PLIN. xvii, 11.

25. Mago recommends that poplars should be planted in trenches, which have been pre-

pared a year before, whereby they imbibe the sun and rain. If this direction is not followed, let a fire be made therein two months before planting, which must only be done after rain. PLIN. xvii, 16.

26. Mago says of olive trees, that they should be planted seventy-five feet from each other; or, in hard soil, exposed to the wind, at least forty-five feet. PLIN. xvii, 19.

27. Mago says that the olive tree should be planted upon hills, in dry and stiff soil between autumn and winter. In rich and damp soil between harvest and winter. It may easily be seen that these directions were intended for Africa. PLIN. xvii, 30.

28. Even kings have written upon agriculture, as Hiero, Attalus Philometor, and Archelaus; also generals, as Xenophon, and Mago the Carthaginian, whose work was so honoured by the senate, that when, after the conquest of Carthage, it sent the libraries of that city to the king's there, it caused his work in twenty-eight books to be translated into Latin, by persons well acquainted with the Punic language, among whom D. Silanus, belonging to one of the first families, surpassed all others. PLIN. xviii, 7.

29. Mago goes rather beyond the mark, and

not according to what is evidently best, when he desires, that he who would take a farm should sell his house. As he, however, thus opens his preface, he shows at least, that it requires great industry and attention. PLIN. xviii, 7.

30. Concerning the manner of grinding or pounding, Mago says, that maize should be first sprinkled with water, then cleaned, then dried in the sun, and pounded in a mortar. Barley the same. Twenty measures thereof should be moistened with two measures of water. Lentils should be first dried, then lightly pounded with the bran; vetches just the same. Sesame must be first soaked in warm water, then rubbed and thrown into cold, when the chaff will float on the top; it must then be dried in the sun upon linen cloths. PLIN. xviii, 23.

31. Mago directs that the albucum should be mown, if it has blown, at the end of March or beginning of April. He also says, the Greeks named *pistana*, (what we call adder's-tongue,) arrow-head, among the *Sagittaria*. PLIN. xxi, 68, 69. The farther translation of the passage, which shows how accurately Mago treated of the various sorts of plants, requires botanical explanations. The above shows that he was not unacquainted with Greek literature.

VIII. *On the genealogy of the ruling houses of Carthage.*

The whole tenor of Carthaginian history and government is much easier apprehended by our observing, that even in the most flourishing times of the republic, before the commencement of the Roman wars, single families, throughout many generations, stood at its head. Among these, as is mentioned in the text, the first and most important is that of Mago, which for one hundred and fifty years gave generals to the republic. The genealogy of these houses is interwoven with great difficulties, because in Carthage there were no family names, and the descent of each member can only be known by the father's name being stated. It may, however, and especially of that of the house Mago, be collected from Justin and Diodorus, as the following attempt will show, in which I have set down the authority for every statement.

1. MAGO, the founder of the house, became also the founder of the Carthaginian predominancy, by the introduction of military discipline and tactics in the army. JUSTIN, xix, 1. As his sons were contemporary with Darius Hystaspes, he must have been the contemporary of Cambyses and Cyrus, between 550—500 B. C. He left behind him two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, who inherited at the same time his power and greatness. They were engaged in the

African and Sicilian wars. JUSTIN, xix, 1. The first of them

2. HASDRUBAL, was eleven times general, and four times enjoyed triumphs. JUSTIN, xix, 1. He fell, sorely wounded, in Sardinia, when the command descended to his brother

3. HAMILCAR. This general carried on extensive wars in Sicily, during which, ambassadors came to Carthage from Darius. He was killed in the Sicilian wars (JUSTIN, xix, 2) while contending with Gelon of Syracuse, 480 B. C. HEROD. vii, 165. DIOD. i, p. 420.

Each of these brothers left behind three sons. JUSTIN, xix, 2. Those of Hasdrubal were

4. HANNIBAL. 5. HASDRUBAL. 6. SAPPHO. All three generals, probably in Africa, against the native tribes, by which Carthage was freed from paying tribute. JUSTIN, xix, 2.

The three sons of Hamilcar, were Himilco, Hanno, and Gisco. JUSTIN, xix, 2. The first:

7. HIMILCO succeeded to his father in the command in Sicily; lost his army by a pestilence; and killed himself. JUSTIN, xix, 2, 3. (Other historians relate the latter as happening to the younger Himilco, the grandson, No. 11. It is therefore very probable that Justin has here made a mistake.)

8. HANNO, the second son of Hamilcar, has nothing mentioned respecting him by Justin except his name. According to a conjecture, not improbable, he is held to be the author of the celebrated Periplus, in which case, his brother Himilco would be the author of the other Periplus, (now lost,) along the coast of Spain. See above p. 99. He must not be confounded with the Hanno mentioned by JUSTIN, xx, 5, and xxi, 4; but it is very probable that he is the father of Himilco spoken of under No. 11.

9. GISCO, the third son of Hamilcar, is known with certainty from history; as well as from JUSTIN, xix, 2, and DIOD. i, p. 574, 588. Through the defeat of his father, he was unfortunately doomed to exile, and closed his life at Selinus. DIOD. l. c. He had a son named

10. HANNIBAL, DIOD. i, p. 590. A successful commander in the Sicilian wars, 410 B. C. He was again elected general 406, in the first war against Dionysius I. and chose as his colleague, on account of his own great age, his cousin

11. HIMILCO (or, as he is oftener called, HAMILCAR) the son of Hanno, of the same family. DIOD. i, p. 603. It seems therefore very likely that he was the son of Hannibal's father's brother, Hanno; but at all events of the house of Mago. He prosecuted the war with success, and brought it to a close in 405. It can scarcely

be doubted but it was this same Himilco, who, in the second war with Dionysius I, 398, obtained, as king, the command of the Carthaginians, Diod. i, 681, but who, in the year 396, losing his army by the plague, secured a safe retreat for the Carthaginians that still survived, and left the hired troops to shift for themselves. After his return to Carthage he made away with himself. Diod. i, p. 700, 701.

It seems very probable that with this Himilco his house fell into decay, at least there is no proof that the later generals belonged to it. His successor in the command was Mago, Diod. i, p. 711, whose father is not named. He closed the war 392, by a treaty. Diod. *ib.* In the third war against Dionysius, 333 B. C. he again obtained the command as king; but was slain and lost. His son, of the same name, quite a youth, was his successor, Diod. ii, p. 15, who successfully ended the war in the same year, by a treaty.

So far as can be gathered from the fragments that are left of the history of Carthage for the succeeding periods, there do not seem to be any single ruling house previous to the time of Hamilcar Barca, that maintained itself so long at the head of the government as that of Mago. What little is left to be said respecting the consanguinity of the chiefs and generals of the republic is as follows:

In the war against Timoleon we read of, as

generals, Mago, who lost the command through a defeat, and killed himself, 341 B. C.; PLUTARCH. *Op.* i, p. 244. It is uncertain whether this be the same Mago who put an end to the war in the year 383. He was succeeded by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, slain by Timoleon, 340 B. C. PLUTARCH. i, p. 248. Their family is unknown.

Another house now raised itself, and became so powerful as to endanger the public liberty; that of Hanno, who had one son Gisco, and he again two sons, Hamilcar, and one, whose name is not stated, who was the father of Bomilcar.

1. Of HANNO, the founder of this family, nothing is known, if we do not take him for the Hanno whose unsuccessful attempt at a revolution, 340 B. C. is described by JUSTIN, xxi, 4. We must to be sure, in that case, change what Justin says, namely, that all his sons were executed with him, to a sentence of banishment, from which his son Gisco might then be recalled in the same year, 340. Perhaps this opinion will be strengthened by the reproach which Bomilcar cast upon the Carthaginians for their injustice, JUSTIN, xxii, 7, when he takes the examples from his own family, and among them Hanno. However this may be, Hanno had a son named

2. GISCO, who was recalled from exile in

order to take command, 340 B. C. DIODORUS, ii, p. 144 ; PLUTARCH. in *Timol. Op.* i, p. 248. One of his sons

3. HAMILCAR, (JUSTIN, xxii, 23,) a Carthaginian of the highest rank, DIODORUS, ii, p. 399, was general against Agathocles in Sicily, but being made prisoner by the Syracusans, he was by them put to death. DIOD. ii, p. 426. JUSTIN, xxii, 7, confounds him with another Hamilcar, who chiefly supported Agathocles, but who is carefully distinguished from him by Diodorus.

4. His BROTHER (whose name is not anywhere mentioned) is only known by being the father of

5. BOMILCAR, who, according to JUSTIN, xxii, 7, wishing to desert to Agathocles, was, on that account, put to death by the Carthaginians, 308 B. C. But, according to DIOD. ii, p. 473, this happened because he wished to obtain the chief authority by force.

HOUSE OF MAGO.

1. MAGO, from 550—500 B. C.

2. HASDRUBAL, general in Sicily and Sardinia.
 - 4. HANNIBAL. 5. HASDRUBAL. 6. SAPPHO. Generals, probably in Africa.

3. HAMILCAR, † in Sicily, 480 B. C.
 - 7. HIMILCO. General in Sicily.
 - 8. HANNO.
 - 11. HIMILCO. General, 406-396. Killed himself, 395.
 - 9. GISCO. † at Selinus, in exile.
 - 10. HANNIBAL. General, 410-406, B. C.

HOUSE OF HANNO.

1. HANNO executed, 340 B. C.
 - 2. GISCO. General, 340 B. C.
 - 3. HAMILCAR. General, 311 B. C. Prisoner, and put to death in Syracuse, 309.
 - 4. ANONYM.
 - 5. BOMILCAR. Executed, 308 B. C.

For the next sixty years after this, when the house of Barca attained the lead, from 247 B. C. there was no ruling family in Carthage. The genealogy of this house, consisting of Hamilcar Barca, the son of Hannibal (of whom we know nothing farther), his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, is generally known. While of the family of Hanno the Great, which so long maintained a preponderance, history has preserved no account.

END OF VOL. I.

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